

ABOUT CDF

The Children's Defense Fund (CDF) exists to provide a strong and effective voice for the children of America who cannot vote, lobby, or speak for themselves. We pay particular attention to the needs of poor, minority, and handicapped children. Our goal is to educate the nation about the needs of children and encourage preventive investment in children before they get sick, drop out of school, suffer family breakdown, or get into trouble.

CDF is a unique organization. CDF focuses on programs and policies that affect large numbers of children, rather than on helping families on a case-by-case basis. Our staff includes specialists in health, education, child welfare, mental health, child development, adolescent pregnancy prevention, and youth employment. CDF gathers data and disseminates information on key issues affecting children. We monitor the development and implementation of federal and state policies. We provide information, technical assistance, and support to a network of state and local child advocates. We pursue an annual legislative agenda in the United States Congress and litigate selected cases of major importance. CDF's major initiatives include our adolescent pregnancy prevention program and a prenatal care campaign. CDF educates thousands of citizens annually about children's needs and responsible policy options for meeting those needs.

CDF is a national organization with roots in communities across America. Although our main office is in Washington, D.C., we reach out to towns and cities across the country to monitor the effects of changes in national and state policies and to help people and organizations who are concerned with what happens to children. CDF maintains state offices in Minnesota, Mississippi, Ohio, Texas, and Virginia. CDF has developed cooperative projects with groups in many states.

CDF is a private organization supported by foundations, corporate grants, and individual donations.

A Children's Defense Budget



FY 1988

*An Analysis of Our
Nation's Investment in
Children*

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

DEAR LORD
BE GOOD TO ME
THE SEAS SO
WIDE AND
MY BOAT
SO SMALL

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DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to Joe Rauh, who has been an untiring fighter for civil rights, justice, and fairness for more than five decades, and a board member and friend of CDF since the beginning.

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FOREWORD

THE CHILDREN'S TIME

"If we are to have peace on earth our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than national. Our loyalties must transcend our race, our tribe, our class, and our nation and this means we must develop a world perspective. No individual can live alone, and as long as we try, the more we are going to have war in this world. Now the judgment of God is upon us, and we must either learn to live together as brothers or we are all going to perish together as fools."

Martin Luther King, Jr.

"The future belongs not to those who have the largest number of weapons of mass destruction, but to those who can best solve their own economic and social problems and can provide a beacon of hope for the rest of humanity that all nations' problems can be similarly solved."

Louis B. Sohn

A national catastrophe is in the making. The survival and quality of our children, youths, and families are the single most important determinants of the quality of the national and world future. Yet of the four- and five-year-olds in today's America, the potential students and workers in the year 2000:

- One in four is poor;
- One in three is nonwhite or Hispanic, of whom two in five are poor;
- One in five is at risk of becoming a teen parent;
- One in six has no health insurance;
- One in six lives in a family where neither parent has a job;
- One in two has a mother working outside the home, but only a minority receive quality child care; and
- One in seven is at risk of dropping out of school.

Their nurturing unit—the family—is imperiled by extraordinary change and economic instability. Of every 100 children born today:

- Twenty will be born out-of-wedlock;
- Twelve will be born to parents who divorce before the children reach eighteen;
- Six will be born to parents who separate before the children reach eighteen;
- Four will be born to families in which one parent will die before the children reach eighteen; and
- Forty will live in a female-headed household before adulthood.

Poverty and related ills also affect millions of families. Of every 100 children born today:

- Thirteen will be born to a teenage mother;
- Fifteen will be born into a household where no parent is employed;
- Fifteen will be born into a household with a working parent earning a below-poverty wage; and
- Twenty-five will be on welfare at some point prior to adulthood.

No moral or sensible nation can dare write off a significant portion of its human assets. To ignore these facts is to jeopardize America's future and undermine the competitiveness and productivity of our economy in the twenty-first century. Young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four comprised 23 percent of the U.S. population in 1978, but will constitute only 16 percent by 1995. One in three of our new workers will be minority. As the number of young workers steadily declines, therefore, business and industry will be forced to rely upon workers and potential workers in whom we traditionally have failed to invest. Our future prosperity now depends in large part on our ability to enhance the prospects and productivity of a new generation of employees that is disproportionately poor, minority, undereducated, and untrained.

The budget deficit and the trade deficit pale in comparison to this human development deficit and the national spiritual deficit that permits it.

A principal challenge of the next American decade is the protection of our children from death by arms, want, and neglect. Between now and the year 2000, the nation must mount a carefully conceived, comprehensive human investment effort in all our young and in all our families to overcome the debilitating effects of decades of poverty, racial discrimination, neglect, an eroding employment and family wage base, and budget and tax thefts from the weak by the military and wealthy. We must begin with a national commitment to ensure that every child has basic health, nutrition, and early childhood services and thus has the capacity and opportunity to learn well and to develop strong basic academic skills. For the level of a young person's basic skills has a powerful effect on his or her prospects for future achievement, teenage parenthood, and eventual self-sufficiency.

There is a strong relationship between basic skills levels, teen parenthood, and poverty. According to data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Young Americans analyzed by Dr. Andrew Sum of the Center for Labor Market Studies at Northeastern University, youths with very poor reading and math skills (in the bottom fifth relative to their peers) are far more likely to become parents at an early age than those with average basic skills:

During the 1950-1955 period, the United States ranked sixth in infant mortality among twenty industrialized countries and Japan tied for seventeenth place. By the 1980-1985 period, Japan ranked first and the United States tied for last place among the same groups of countries.

A black baby born within the shadow of the White House and U. S. Capitol is less likely to survive the first year of life than a black baby born in Third World Trinidad and Tobago.

By the end of this decade, at the current rate of progress, the United States will have spent at least \$2.1 billion in first-year costs alone to care for the excess numbers of low-birthweight infants who need extensive medical care and whose tragic situations could have been averted had the nation moved rapidly to reduce the incidence of low birthweight.

Source: CDF's *The Health of America's Children: Maternal and Child Health Data Book*, 1987.

- Teens who by age fourteen or fifteen have very weak basic skills are five times more likely to become mothers before age sixteen than those with average basic skills.
- Young women who by age seventeen or eighteen have very weak basic skills are two and a half times more likely to be mothers before their twentieth birthday than those with average basic skills.
- Young men who by age seventeen or eighteen have very weak basic skills are three times more likely to become fathers before age twenty than those with average basic skills.

By the time youths have reached the end of their teenage years, poor basic academic skills sharply increase the likelihood that they will face a diverse range of problems in attempting to make the transition to adulthood. Youths

While 13 million poor children are growing up without adequate food, health and child care, shelter, teaching, and caring, countless other American children of privilege are afflicted by "affluenza," a term coined by John Levy of the C. G. Jung Institute. Its symptoms, he says, include "... boredom, guilt, low self-esteem, and a lack of motivation." The primary cause, Levy suggests, "is the family wealth that insulates children from challenge, risk, and consequence."

The same story reports psychologists and psychiatrists as saying: "In some ways the children of the urban rich most resemble the children of the urban poor. Both tend to suffer from broken homes and absentee parents. Both develop hard, streetwise skills that belie the gaping emotional holes within. Both move amid easily accessible alcohol, drugs, and sex."

"Death in Park: Difficult Questions for Parents," *New York Times*, September 11, 1986, article by Samuel C. Friedman.

who by age eighteen have the weakest reading and math skills, when compared to those with above-average basic skills, are:

- Eight times more likely to bear children out of wedlock;
- Seven times more likely to drop out of school before graduation;
- Four times more likely to be both out of work and out of school; and
- Four times more likely to be forced to turn to public assistance for basic income support.

Growing up in a poor family dramatically increases a young person's chances of ending up with weak basic skills. Nearly half of all poor youths have reading and math skills that place them in the bottom fifth of the basic skills distribution, and more than three-fourths of all poor youths have below-average basic skills.

The combination of poverty and weak basic skills accounts for virtual all of the racial disparities in teen childbearing rates. Young women (ages sixteen to nineteen) with below-average basic skills who live in poor families—whether white, black, or Hispanic—are six times more likely to have children than young women with above-average basic skills residing in non-poor households.

- Fewer than one in twenty young women with above-average basic skills and above-average incomes has given birth to a child.
- More than one in five young women with below-average basic skills and below-poverty incomes have given birth to a child.

If we are serious as a nation about preventing teenage pregnancy, infant mortality, welfare dependency, unemployment, and bolstering national

U.S. Rank Among 142 Countries

	Rank
Arms exports	1
GNP	1
Military expenditures	1
Military technology	1
Military bases worldwide	1
Naval fleet	1
Nuclear reactors	1
Nuclear warheads and bombs	1
Literacy rate	4
Percent school-age in school	6
Life expectancy	7
Public education expenditures per capita	10
Public health expenditures per capita	10
School-age population per teacher	13
Percent population with safe water	14
Infant mortality rate	17
Percent women in university enrollment	17
Population per physician	22

Source: Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures (11th Edition)*, page 47. World Priorities, Washington, D.C.

productivity, we must invest now in upgrading the basic skills of all children. University of California at Los Angeles Assistant Professor of Education James S. Catterall estimated in 1985 that the total lifetime earnings loss for the dropouts in the high school class of 1981 alone will be a staggering \$228 billion with an approximate tax revenue loss of \$68.4 billion. To begin to regain these lost billions, we need a comprehensive ban on child poverty as well as on the arms race that is draining the daily lifeblood of the young and needy. Dorothy Day warned years ago that "we are quite literally a nation which is in the process of committing suicide in the hopes that the Russians will not be able to murder it." It's time to listen.

Protecting Children: A Moral As Well As Practical Imperative

It is not only sensible but right and just to protect our children, who are the least among us. "The death of one child, when that death could have been avoided," United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar said in 1986, "is a rebuke to all humanity." The death of millions of children from preventable poverty and disease at home and abroad is a rebuke to the Old Testament God who saved Isaac and Ishmael, the sons of Abraham, and the New Testament God who sent a poor child as His messenger to the world—a child whose example too many Christians would rather praise than follow. Christ rebuked those who sought to shunt children aside, saying: "Whoever receives this child in my name receives me; and whosoever receives me receives the one who sent me. For the least among you all, he is the greatest."

The President's Fiscal Year 1988 Budget and Child Survival

The Reagan Administration proposes to cut our contribution to the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF) by 41.2 percent, or \$21 million, in Fiscal Year 1988. This "savings" of \$21 million is one-tenth of the \$200 million we will lose in Fiscal Year 1988 because foreign governments will pay us less for weapons we sell them than we pay to buy them and far less than 1 percent of the \$3 billion we plan to lose by "forgiving" U.S. loans to foreign governments for weapons we sold to them in prior years. Yes, that's how it works. We loan foreign governments money, then they pay us the money back, but pay less each year than the weapons we ship cost us, then we forgive the loans we made. Is this why there are no funds left to keep more of the world's children alive?

Congress created a Child Survival Fund and told the President to "direct the Agency for International Development, working through the Centers for Disease Control and other appropriate federal agencies, to work in a global effort to provide enhanced support toward achieving the goal of universal access to childhood immunization by 1990. . . ." It appropriated \$75 million towards the effort. These are the monies for "oral rehydration therapy to combat diarrheal diseases, immunization and other primary health care efforts aimed at cutting in half infant and child mortality rates in developing countries." In Fiscal Year 1987, the President plans to spend less than \$5 million of the appropriated \$75 million, and has asked not only that the Fiscal Year 1988 funding be zeroed out, but also that the congressional direction to him be repealed, and all further funds be left to his "functional" discretion.

And how has the world received its children? By killing and maiming millions of them through poverty and war. "The children of the world are already living in the rubble of World War III," Dr. Bernard Lowe, co-president of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, tells us: "... Every three days 120,000 children die unnecessarily—the very toll of casualties following the atomic bombing of Hiroshima." UNICEF's 1987 report on *The State of the World's Children* says that 14 million innocent children under five die each year from preventable malnutrition and disease, twenty-seven every minute of the day and night as you read this. And it is not just in poor Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, or El Salvador that children are dying unnecessarily. In rich America, poverty kills 10,000 of our children every year, one every fifty-three minutes. Yet every minute of the day world leaders, led by our own nation's, spend \$1.9 million on an obscene arms race that assumes the existence of a political issue worth destroying all the children in the world.

**Federal Outlays per Person (FY 1987 Dollars) for
National Defense and for Programs for Low-Income
Families and Children**

Fiscal Years 1980-1992

Fiscal Year	National Defense	Low-Income Programs
1980	\$ 811.34	\$524.88
1981	849.95	530.24
1982	923.13	462.83
1983	1,001.14	470.56
1984	1,040.66	470.66
1985	1,105.76	475.75
1986	1,160.10	487.10
1987	1,158.18	491.08
1988*	1,169.39	466.45
1989*	1,174.32	458.80
1990*	1,191.28	448.61
1991*	1,216.40	445.72
1992*	1,251.16	438.82
Change FY 1980- FY 1992		
in real dollars	+ \$ 439.82	-\$ 86.06
in percent	+ 54.2%	- 16.4%

*FY 1988-1992 based on President's budget proposals.

An escalating arms race and perverted world and national priorities doubly threaten children's survival: a single hour's global military expenditure could save 3.5 million children otherwise destined to die annually from preventable infectious diseases. Ten days' (\$500 million worth) of the Reagan Administration's proposed \$19 billion Pentagon increase for FY 1988 could provide cost-effective prenatal care for thousands of American babies who now

die or face crippling lifelong birth defects from preventable low birthweight. While our nation maintains its leading status as the world's arms peddler, it has slipped from sixth to a tie for last place among twenty industrialized nations in keeping our babies alive in the first year of life.

A Search for the Genuine in America

Howard Thurman, the distinguished black theologian and former dean of the Chapel at Boston University, told the young women of my alma mater, Spelman College, that "there is in you something that waits and listens for the sound of the genuine in yourself and if you cannot hear it you will never find whatever it is for which you are searching and if you hear it and then do not follow it, it will be better that you had never been born. You are the only you that has ever lived."

America is the only nation of its kind that has ever been born. Will our having lived ultimately be a blessing or a bane to humankind? Can we still listen for and find the sound of the genuine in ourselves amidst a nuclear madness we helped create and a poverty and racism we have far too long tolerated? Can we reset our compass away from the present course of racial and class polarization and towards building paths of hope and service and work for the young men and women in the urban ghettos of our cities and poor rural areas.

How have you and I let our leaders define national and world security as the capacity to destroy human life more than twelve times? How can we continue to tolerate useless nuclear stockpiling while one in five of our world neighbors, even one in five of our own children, are living in gnawing poverty? How can we tolerate our leaders rushing to invest \$67 billion between 1987 and 1993 alone to explore the dubious feasibility of a possible trillion dollar

For \$16 billion we can lift every American child out of poverty; for \$3 billion we can give every mother prenatal care; for \$6 billion we can give every child remedial education help under Chapter I; for \$6 billion we can give every poor preschool child a Head Start. We know those billions will make a positive difference. They are incomparably safer and better investments than Star Wars, whose ultimate costs could equal \$500 billion to \$1 trillion, will escalate the arms race and destabilize an already precarious nuclear standoff, undermine arms control and increase the incentive to strike first, which also may not work, and cannot be tested for its effectiveness.

Strategic Defense Initiative (or Star Wars) space shield that may not work, when 40,000 American babies now have no health shield to keep them alive until their first birthday? How has the great American experiment of our founding fathers come to mean playing nuclear "chicken" rather than testing, as Lincoln said in his eulogy to the Civil War dead at Gettysburg, whether "any nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that men are created equal can long endure?"

Is our historical legacy—if history survives the nuclear age—to be that of a nation that stockpiled more nuclear weapons than all others in order to beat

the Soviets in destroying humankind? Is our moral legacy to be that of the richest nation on earth, with more than ample means to feed the hungry and heal the sick and clothe the naked, which chose instead to imprison our own children in urban ghettos and desolate rural areas, holding-pen schools, and crime-inducing juvenile institutions and prisons? Is our mission on earth in the third century to be the militarization of the stars or the humanization of a foolish world that lets a child die every ten seconds from preventable diarrheal dehydration and six children die every minute of the day for lack of immunization against preventable disease?

What Can We Do?

"We must work for a world in which every child has his or her due. If a proposed piece of legislation or the platform of a political party or the program of a new group will make it a better world for children, we can be pretty sure that the cause of justice will be solved for all of us."

Robert McAfee Brown

"But let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an ever flowing stream."

Amos 5:24

This is no time for despair, hand-wringing, or bystanding. This is the time for committed action. Although there are no quick, simple, or easy answers to many of the social and economic problems described in this book, there are a number of steps each of us can take to begin the hard but necessary task of easing our nation back from nuclear insanity and towards providing a floor of decency under every American child and family.

STEP ONE is recognizing that it is up to you and me to protect our young and needy. The politicians and the experts will not do it unless informed and organized citizen action demands it. Lord Salisbury put it aptly: "No lesson seems to be so deeply inculcated by the experience of life as that you never should trust experts. If you believe the doctors, nothing is wholesome; if you believe the theologians, nothing is innocent; if you believe the generals, nothing is safe." I would add, if you believe the politicians, nothing is affordable except what powerful special interests want. The \$2 trillion dollar Reagan Administration peacetime military buildup between 1987 and 1992—the six-year equivalent of \$2 million a day every day since Christ was born 1,987 years ago—continues, still basically unabated, at the expense of pressing domestic needs and budget solvency. It is the fruit of political, military, and defense contractor connivance aided and abetted by citizen ignorance and inaction. It can only be significantly slowed or reversed by informed, mobilized, and sustained citizen action.

While I, like all Americans, support a strong defense and carefully defined national security goals, we must demand that military expenditures meet the same test of need and effectiveness as social expenditures and that our priorities reflect a better balance between internal and external security needs.

"I think you know that I believe we must be strong militarily, but beyond a certain point military strength can become a national weakness. The trouble with collecting military strength beyond our needs is that it tends to become a substitute for all the other things involved in true national security.

"It fosters the notion that national security is automatically tied to the amount of money we spend on arms. What we overlook is that we may be spending our money on the wrong things. When we get into overspending we get into misspending and inefficiencies.

"I don't want to see us subsidize fraud and incompetence. I don't want people who have a financial stake in crisis and tensions to have a voice in national policy."

Dwight David Eisenhower

Americans need to dig deep within ourselves and commit to a greater personal tithing of time, energy, and resources to helping the needy young and old and to redirecting immoral national priorities. Indeed the nation should commit itself to an inviolate tithing formula for the young and needy regardless of other demands and interest groups.

The *Chronicle of Higher Education*, reporting on Independent Sector's new campaign to double charitable giving, said that Americans with annual incomes under \$10,000 give to charity three times as much proportionately as Americans in the \$50,000 to \$100,000 income bracket. All of us—rich, middle class, and poor—need to pull our proportionate weight in making America

Tithing

If, as a nation, we decided to tithe 10 percent of our planned increases in military budget authority, we could provide an additional \$30.5 billion for children's programs over the next five years. By 1992, we would receive \$10.4 billion new dollars each year, or about \$800 per poor child per year.

An annual calculation would look like this:

- FY 1988, \$1.9 billion. This would pay for all of the health and child welfare provisions of the Children's Defense Fund's Legislative Agenda.
- FY 1989, \$3.9 billion. This would pay for all of the above PLUS the nutrition and child care provisions of the Legislative Agenda.
- FY 1990, \$6.1 billion. This amount could buy all of the above PLUS all the job and education provisions of the Legislative Agenda.
- FY 1991, \$8.2 billion. This could pay for all of the above PLUS all of the remaining social service provisions of the Legislative Agenda.

"There was a rich man, who was clothed in purple and fine linen and who feasted sumptuously every day. And at his gate lay a poor man named Lazarus, full of sores, who desired to be fed with what fell from the rich man's table; moreover the dogs came and licked his sores. The poor man died and was carried by the angels to Abraham's bosom. The rich man also died and was buried; and in Hades, being in torment, he lifted up his eyes, and saw Abraham far off and Lazarus in his bosom. And he called out, 'Father Abraham, have mercy upon me, and send Lazarus to dip the end of his finger in water and cool my tongue; for I am in anguish in this flame.'

"But Abraham said, 'Son, remember that you in your lifetime received your good things, and Lazarus in like manner evil things; but now he is comforted here, and you are in anguish. And besides all this, between us and you a great chasm has been fixed, in order that those who would pass from here to you may not be able, and none may cross from there to us.' And he said, 'Then I beg you, father, to send him to my father's house, for I have five brothers, so that he may warn them, lest they also come into this place of torment.' But Abraham said, 'They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them.' And he said, 'No, father Abraham; but if some one goes to them from the dead, they will repent.' He said to him, 'If they do not hear Moses and the prophets, neither will they be convinced if someone should rise from the dead.'"

Luke 16:19-31

great. And we need an American consensus that no child, elderly person, or family will lack a minimum level of decency in our nation of boastful affluence. The Bible did not condemn the rich man because he was rich, but because he did not share sufficiently with the beggar Lazarus at his door. Every day the homeless Lazaruses on our city grates and benches mock us, mock our ideals, and mock our faith.

And if we don't have money to tithe, we can tithe our time and commitment. We can tutor some of the children who need help and find countless ways to become the hands and feet and voices of compassion in the personal and political arenas as so many Americans already are doing.

STEP TWO is undertaking large-scale, but carefully targeted, public education and organizing efforts to build a strong constituency for preventive investment in children and families. There are essentially five kinds of people in the world: those who do not know what is happening, those who watch what is happening, those who dabble in what is happening but lack the discipline and commitment for sustained effort, those who get in the way of or seek to obstruct what is happening, and those who make things happen—who struggle through despair to find constructive paths for service and change.

Child advocates must increase dramatically the number of Americans, particularly those in decision-making and decision-swaying positions, who know what is happening to American children and the consequences for the children, their community, and the nation. Just as we have learned how to influence the budget process over the last six years, we must now learn how to influence the media and develop effectively our own mass communication strategies. Simultaneously we must break down the problems of children and families into manageable pieces for action packaged in ways that will inspire and involve a critical mass of parents and citizens. So many of us stand on the sidelines

because we don't believe we can make a difference. As little time and energy as possible should be spent on bandwagon riders, dilettantes, and dabblers.

STEP THREE is defining the most important things children need, the policies and strategies required to meet those needs, and likely opposition and allies. As we cannot fully anticipate what will interest whom when, or how many children's problems the country may be willing to respond to, it is important to prepare a thoughtful menu of specific policy proposals in order to maximize the coming harvest time for children in the 1990s. And as tempting as it may be after such a long political winter, we must resist quick-fix, cosmetic, and politically attractive but inadequate solutions to complex social problems. Poor children do not need Pyrrhic victories that make politicians and advocates feel good. They need tested, implemented, and funded program remedies sustained over time.

STEP FOUR is documenting, highlighting, and educating the American public and policymakers about a range of successful programs for children and the cost-effectiveness of specific preventive investments in the young. The American public is willing to support programs that make a difference in improving children's lives. A 1986 Louis Harris poll showed a majority of citizens felt our national government was not investing enough in children. A more recent Daniel Yankelovich poll also showed that a majority of Americans of all ages and income groups thought our government was not doing enough for poor children. Child advocates must build on this positive public opinion by disseminating information on programs that work, by setting clear priorities, and by lobbying systematically for their adoption.

We have such a strong case to make for increasing investment in children and families that we should not miss an opportunity to spread the word. We know what works to prevent infant mortality and birth defects that plague American babies at disgraceful rates. We know that \$600 invested in early and comprehensive prenatal care saves not only babies' lives but prevents the neonatal intensive care unit costs that average \$1,200 per day to save very low-birthweight babies. Yet only 76 percent of all mothers and 56 percent of teen mothers receive early prenatal care. The Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) has a positive impact on healthy birth outcomes and saves \$3 for every \$1 spent. Yet it reaches only 40 percent of those eligible. Immunization prevents more serious diseases in children and costs a pittance compared to the costs of institutionalizing a child for a serious preventable handicap. Yet half of all black preschoolers are not fully immunized. Head Start works. It helps keep children at grade level and helps prevent more costly special education placement and teen pregnancy. But four out of five children who need it are not receiving it. How can this be tolerated in an era of budget deficits? Professor Sum's data, described earlier, show that good basic skills are the pathway to opportunity and success in American society. Chapter I has a positive effect on raising basic skills levels among disadvantaged children. Yet half of those eligible are excluded from the program, which is up for reauthorization in the 100th Congress. What is the rationale for not doubling Chapter I as soon as possible to reach all eligible children?

Job training and jobs are the grist of meaning and self-worth in American society. Yet national economic policies continue to tolerate large pockets of Depression-era levels of joblessness. Only 25.3 percent of black teen males are employed, 61.6 percent of black males twenty to twenty-four years of age, and 78.8 percent of those twenty-five to twenty-nine years of age. In 1985, of those twenty to twenty-four-year-old black males who were employed and

Jobs, Income, and Poverty

America's families, especially those with young parents, are having an increasingly difficult time garnering the income necessary to survive.

Jobs and joblessness: While unemployment is down since the peak of the recession, far too many Americans remain unemployed or underemployed.

- Eight million Americans were officially unemployed in December 1986. Unemployment has been more than 6.5 percent for eighty-one consecutive months as of the end of 1986.
- In addition to the 8 million "unemployed," more than 1 million Americans want jobs but have given up hope of finding them so they are not counted in the data. And 5.6 million others (up from 3.5 million in 1979) want full-time jobs but can only find part-time jobs.
- The Administration boasts about the number of new jobs being created, but job growth from the end of the 1981-1982 recession through December 1986 was 19 percent less than during a comparable period following the 1974-1975 recession. This 19 percent amounted to a shortfall of almost 3 million jobs.

Wages: The drop in the real value of wages (after inflation is factored in) has left more American families in poverty or at its brink. The minimum wage has not been increased to account for inflation since January 1981 and it has lost about 20 percent of its value. The replacement of manufacturing jobs by service and retail sector jobs also has pulled wage levels downward.

- Between 1979 and 1984, more than half of the new jobs created in the American economy paid less than \$7,000 per year (in 1984 dollars). Between 1973 and 1979, only one in five newly created jobs paid such low wages.
- From 1979 to 1985, the number of Americans paid on an hourly basis who were paid wages so low that full-time work could not lift a family of three out of poverty jumped from 2.8 million to well over 10.6 million.
- Among men employed full time, those younger than twenty-five received an average of 74 percent of the wages paid men twenty-five or older in 1957. By 1986 the figure had fallen to only 51 percent.

Poverty: More American children are poor (2.76 million more in 1985 than in 1978), and the poor are poorer than they were before President Reagan took office (many more live on incomes less than one-half the poverty level).

- In 1985, 20.1 percent of children were poor. Younger children—those younger than five—were more likely to be poor (23 percent) than older children (19.5 percent). Adults suffered an 11.5 percent poverty rate.
- In 1985 the poverty rate for two-parent and single-parent families with children in which the household head was younger than twenty-five was 30.2 percent.
- Fewer than one-half of white men and fewer than one-third of black men age twenty to twenty-four could earn enough in 1984 to support a wife and one child above the poverty line.

paid hourly, only 30.6 percent earned enough to keep a family of four above the poverty level, if they worked full-time, full year. How can the Congress wait longer to adjust the minimum wage to inflation and to create new jobs and job training programs?

All of the nation's pronounced concern about the crisis of the black family is hypocritical cant in the absence of concrete investment strategies to educate, train, and create jobs to put young black men and women to work. In their absence, there is no economic base for healthy black two-parent family formation and stability for millions of young black men and women in 1987's America.

STEP FIVE is working to reverse the spending priorities of the Reagan years which have favored weapons of death over tools of life for the poor and federal investment in the haves at the expense of the have nots. We must stop our national government from actively promoting housing policies that leave children out in the cold (about 30 percent of the estimated 1 million to 2 million

Since Fiscal Year 1980, spending on the civilian National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice has increased by a factor of 10, from \$441,000 to \$4,285,000 in Fiscal Year 1988. Since Fiscal Year 1980, spending on the Follow Through program (the program to solidify Head Start's gains for young children by following them into elementary schools) has fallen from \$41,139,000 to \$7,200,000 in Fiscal Year 1987. President Reagan wants to eliminate it in Fiscal Year 1988.

homeless population are members of families with children); nutrition policies that leave them unfed (Reagan budget cuts have excluded 2 million children from the school lunch program); health care policies that leave them more likely than adults to be among the 35 million Americans uninsured (American infant mortality and low-birthweight rates are the highest in the industrialized world); and welfare policies that leave them destitute (1.5 million children have lost some or all AFDC benefits since 1980 and thirty-two of our states provide benefits that are less than half of the federal poverty line).

Three million American children have fallen into poverty since 1979 and 9 million Americans have lost their health insurance. Yet for the seventh year in a row, the Reagan Administration is seeking massive cuts—\$8 billion in FY 1988—in survival programs for children and poor families on top of \$10 billion in annual program cuts already enacted in 1981 and another \$19 billion increase in the Pentagon budget on top of \$113 billion per year in Pentagon increases since 1981.

The Congress, governors, mayors, county executives, state legislators, city council members, and citizens must replace the politics of deprivation with a new politics of opportunity and human investment. A good beginning was marked in 1986. Congress not only rejected proposed Reagan budget cuts in programs serving children and poor families, but it restored \$2 billion of the \$10 billion in previous cuts and enacted portions of a new Children's Initiative: a \$500 million investment in successful maternal and child nutrition, health, and education programs and Head Start. This good but modest first step must be strengthened this year and be greatly accelerated in future years.

The President's Fiscal Year 1988 Budget: The Numbers

	FY 1988 Current Policy (millions)	FY 1988 Proposed (millions)	Change Proposed (millions)	Change Proposed (percent)
Categorical Programs				
Compensatory Education	\$ 3,944.2	\$ 4,144.2	\$ 200.0	5.1
Handicapped Education	1,741.9	1,488.2	-253.7	-14.6
Student Financial Aid	5,196.0	3,336.0	-1,860.0	-35.8
Student Loans	3,004.0	1,176.6	-1,827.4	-60.8
Maternal/Child Health (Title V)	478.0	478.0	0.0	0.0
Mental Health Block Grant	495.0	495.0	0.0	0.0
Child Welfare Services	222.5	200.0	-22.5	-10.1
Social Services Block Grant	2,700.0	2,700.0	0.0	0.0
Community Services Block Grant	369.9	310.0	-59.9	-16.2
Juvenile Justice	70.3	0.0	-70.3	-100.0
Head Start	1,130.5	1,150.0	19.5	1.7
Energy Assistance	1,822.3	1,237.0	-585.3	-32.1
Youth Employment	750.0	650.0	-100.0	-13.3
Job Corps	656.4	651.7	-4.7	-0.7
Work Incentives	210.5	110.0	-100.5	-47.7
Legal Services	305.5	0.0	-305.5	-100.0
Entitlements				
Food Stamps	13,020.6	12,742.6	-278.0	-2.1
Child Nutrition	4,880.6	4,022.8	-857.8	-17.6
AFDC & Child Support	10,319.9	9,851.5	-468.4	-4.5
Foster Care & Adoption	885.5	682.0	-203.5	-23.0
Medicaid	28,120.0	26,864.0	-1,256.0	-4.5
Total	\$80,323.6	\$72,289.6	\$ -8,034.0	-10.0

In CDF's Legislative Agenda in Chapter 2, we outline a next step investment program for immediate action. Every bit of it could be enacted in 1987 for far less than the proposed Pentagon increase for next year alone or for a fraction of the \$67 billion proposed Star Wars seven-year research budget.

STEP SIX is knowing how our elected officials have voted on issues important to children and poor families so we can lobby them to do better. More of us must become strong and persistent pests for targeted investment in children in the Congress, in our states, counties, cities, and towns. Children are totally dependent on adult caring and help. They don't vote, lobby, make campaign contributions or write editorials. Without the organized voice of child advocates and caring adults outside the political process and thoughtful leaders

within the political process, children's needs will be neglected and trampled upon to their and the nation's loss.

Each year CDF publishes a nonpartisan rating of key votes affecting poor children, youths, and families cast by your Representatives and Senators (see Chapter 3). We hope you will pay attention to how your congressional delegation is treating children. If they are among the four Senators and sixteen Representatives who scored 100, and eight Senators and seventy-two Representatives who scored 90, thank them for providing a strong voice for children and urge that they continue. Representing almost one-quarter of the Congress, they reflect the growing breadth of support for children and families throughout our country, for they are Republicans and Democrats, black, Hispanic, Asian, and white, women and men, young and old, from states and districts North, South, East, and West. Our goal must be to increase the number of those with a 90 percent or more rating to at least 51 percent of both Houses of Congress.

If your delegation includes the two Senators and fifteen House members who scored 0 or the many with a voting record below 50 percent, you need to go to work to sensitize them to the concerns of children and families and let them know that there is a constituency that cares. Regular visits with members at home or in Washington, frequent letters (in care of the U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C. 20510 or the U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C. 20515) and timely telephone calls to home offices or to Washington (202-224-3121) are all critically important.

STEP SEVEN is broadening the politics of change and the constituency that politicians, policy-makers, and citizens see as at risk. We must redefine the

"The only problem that confronts this country today is at least seven million people are out of work. That's our only problem. There is no other one before us at all. It's to see that every man that wants to, is able to work, is allowed to find a place to go to work . . . Prohibition, we hear a lot about that. Well, that's nothing to compare to your neighbor's children that are hungry. It's food, it ain't drink that we're worried about today. Here a few years ago we were so afraid that the poor people was liable to take a drink that now we've fixed it that they can't even get something to eat.

So here we are in a country with more wheat and more corn and more money in the bank, more cotton, more everything in the world—there's not a product that you can name that we haven't got more of it than any other country ever had on the face of the earth—and yet we've got people starving. We'll hold the distinction of being the only nation in the history of the world that ever went to the poorhouse in an automobile. The potter's fields are lined with granaries full of grain. Now if there ain't something cockeyed in an arrangement like that then this microphone here in front of me is . . . well, it's a cuspidor, that's all . . . [T]he most unemployed or the hungriest man in America has contributed in some way to the wealth of every millionaire in America. It was the big boys themselves who thought that this financial drunk we were going through was going to last forever. They over-merged and over-capitalized and over-everything else. That's the fix that we're in now . . . there's as much money in the country as there ever was. Only fewer people have it, but it's there."

Will Rogers, excerpted from "Bacon and Beans and Limousines," *Survey Magazine*, November 1931.

face of poverty in the public mind and make clear that it is not just black and Hispanic children and families or those on welfare who are suffering, albeit disproportionately, today. The majority of the deprived are white. The majority of the poor are working and not on welfare, unlike the big corporate farmers whose federal welfare payouts cost taxpayers \$2.5 billion last year.

Nor is it just the 13 million officially poor children and their 20 million parents, elders, and others whose survival needs the nation must attend. Equal effort must be made to bolster millions of additional families who are struggling to keep families and homes together despite problems that threaten their capacity to protect their children adequately. They are those whom child care, housing, health care, and higher education costs leave constantly struggling to stay a step ahead of poverty. Many Americans are just one serious illness away from financial disaster, one plant closing away from welfare and eviction, and one drought away from farm foreclosure. This body of Americans is now legion.

We must constantly work to identify the common threads of self-interest between poor and middle-class children and families as well as with other constituencies. Indeed, young families seeking to form and stabilize, middle-aged and elderly Americans dependent on a productive work force, private employers dependent on trained workers and consumers with purchasing power, taxpayers concerned about dependency and the high costs of trying to solve problems that could have been prevented, all need to be shown how their self-interest converges with investing in the poorest of our children.

STEP EIGHT is starting now to make children, families, and the poor of all ages a major part of the 1988 presidential debate. No presidential candidate should go through any primary without having to explain his specific policies designed to strengthen children and families, his vision for lifting the weak as well as cultivating the strong, and his plans for peace as well as for war. We know what many of them have done in the past. For example, among the touted Democratic Presidential candidates who serve or have served recently in Congress—Hart, Biden, Gephardt, Bradley, and Nunn—all except Nunn have scored consistently high on CDF's voting rating over the last four years (although Hart had numerous absences in 1983 and 1984). Among the Republican candidates, Sen. Dole has scored only a little better than Sen. Nunn, and Rep. Kemp has guarded the basement.

Now the question is how they will do in the future. Will they speak out strongly for children? Will they act positively and systematically for children? Each and all of them, and others who enter the race, must hear from child advocates early and often. Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said it plainly: "The mode by which the inevitable happens is effort." If we want the nation to place children first, it will take enormous effort.

STEP NINE is anticipating and identifying the key barriers to winning for children, developing strategies to go around and over them, and, when necessary, to knock them down. Some of the barriers to winning for children are within our control. Others are not. I want to briefly mention a few here.

The budget deficit will be the most frequently heard political excuse for neglecting children. Our response is fivefold: (1) children did not cause the deficit and hurting them more will not cure it; (2) children and their families have sacrificed proportionately more than any other group, \$10 billion per year, in a deficit reduction war in which neither the Pentagon, the rich, nor corporate America were enlisted; (3) investing in children now saves money later—to fail to prevent sickness, malnutrition, and early childhood deprivation is to perpetuate the very dependency cycle and high remediation costs so many

Investing in Our Children: A Balance Sheet For Our Nation's Future

We can help ensure that our nation enters the twenty-first century strong and confident by making sound investments in cost-effective programs that will help our children grow up to be healthy, educated, and self-sufficient adults. An additional public commitment to these efforts can yield remarkable results for our children and our nation between now and the end of the century.

INVESTMENT

By providing prenatal care to enough pregnant mothers to achieve the Surgeon General's 1990 goal of reducing infant mortality from its current rate of 10.8 deaths per 1,000 live births to 9 deaths per 1,000 ...

By stepping up our efforts to provide prenatal care so as to reach the Surgeon General's 1990 goal of reducing the incidence of low-birthweight births from its present rate of 6.7 percent to 5 percent ...

By providing the Head Start program to every poor child three to five years of age, instead of one in six as we do now ...

By helping all children in school stay at grade level through remedial and compensatory education ...

By offering the Job Corps' work training opportunity to 250,000 disadvantaged youths (rather than the 90,000 currently served by this program) ...

RETURN

We can save the lives of more than 68,000 American babies by the year 2000. This is more than the number of babies that will be born each year in a state the size of Massachusetts.

... we can reduce the total number of low-birthweight babies born by more than half a million. Estimated dollar savings: more than \$3.5 billion (in 1987 dollars) in direct medical costs to care for these infants in the first year of their lives alone. This does not include the savings in subsequent costs for infants who will suffer permanent handicaps.

... we can reduce each year's costs for special education, repeated grades, delinquency, and other consequences of early failure in school by \$10 billion, over and above the additional costs of providing the Head Start slots.

... we can save the extra costs to schools for children to repeat grades, and, by expediting the high school graduation of more than 5 million youths, increase their earnings by over \$20 billion a year in today's dollars.

... we can save \$3,100 per year per enrollee (or a total of \$9 billion in today's dollars) in costs society will avoid related to crime, use of public welfare programs, and other expenses.

currently decry; (4) investing in children is feasible: we know how to do it and how to achieve positive results for relatively modest investment as we show throughout this book; (5) children are dying right now unnecessarily—one every fifty-three minutes in America, one every two seconds in the world. How can we dare not save them if we believe God exists?

Careless rhetoric and analysis and single solutions that misstate the problems of the poor and needed remedies are a second barrier. Too often the poor are lumped together in an "underclass" which leads too many to blame the victim, conclude that nothing can be done, or to seek uniform answers rather than a range of specific remedies that various groups of the poor may need at a particular time.

It is important to lay out the full continuum of remedies needed to prevent and alleviate poverty. Isabel Sawhill, in an Urban Institute monograph, "Anti-Poverty Strategies in the 80s," summarizes well the needed components of any attempts to alleviate poverty:

"Substituting work for welfare whenever possible, strengthening family responsibilities [child support enforcement], improving labor market prospects for those attempting to work their way out of poverty, mounting more intensive efforts to break the cycle of poverty for the small minority of the poor who appear to be locked into dysfunctional lifestyles and behaviors, and providing income assistance to those who still remain in need."

CDF places greatest emphasis on investing in measures that prevent poverty by building healthy, well cared for, and educated babies, children, and youths.

Another excuse will be poorly defined national security rhetoric and goals that will not die easily as Pentagon budget proponents seek to conquer every congressional district with new defense contracts, thereby bankrupting the nation's budget and soul. President Eisenhower reminded us of the need for balance: "You cannot fight poverty with guns. You cannot satisfy hunger with deadly ammunition. Economic stability and progress, essential to any nation's peace and well being, cannot be measured merely by the firepower of artillery or the speed of jets."

STEP TEN is mounting effective advocacy. Be prepared. Do your homework. Think through your options. Have your fallback position ready. Know your opposition and how to get around or defeat it. Know your allies. Take nothing for granted. Pay attention to details. Check all your bases as many times as needed until you have won your goal. Then follow through. A law partner said of Grenville Clark, one of America's great citizens and advocates, that he "proposed like a scientist and hung on like a leech." Effective child advocates must do likewise.

Be specific: Stay away from generalities and offer a menu of specific things that people of varying skills and values will be able and willing to undertake. We must not expect people to simply be "for children" or seek to convert them to our view of the world. Rather, offer specific ways they can act within their own capacities and beliefs. Put yourself in the place of those you need to influence and pitch your appeal to them in ways that they can hear and be moved to act within their ambit of authority. Seek the common ground. And when dealing with politicians, tell them how what you are proposing will benefit their constituency and make them look good.

Be efficient: Don't waste your and other people's time. Don't get on a treadmill of endless meetings. Think hard about your goal and how to get there

in the most efficient way. Dr. Benjamin Mays used to tell the students of Morehouse College all the time about the importance of using time well and often quoted "God's Minute": "I have just a minute. Only sixty seconds in it, forced upon me, can't refuse it. Didn't seek it, didn't choose it, but it's up to me to use it. I must suffer if I lose it, give account if I abuse it. Just a tiny little minute—but eternity is in it."

Be persistent: Now is not the time to slack up or relax but to gear up to recoup our Reagan-era losses and pursue a positive agenda for children and families. Some think that since the Democrats now have gained majority status in the Congress, children's interests will be protected. Not so. Children will get exactly what we are strong and persuasive enough to insist that they get amid a cacophony of competing interest groups and a deficit that refuses to disappear in the absence of political leadership and hard choices.

Be positive: It is so easy to wallow in problems and to tear down and be against everything. It is much harder to offer constructive alternatives to problems. I believe that one reason America has lost her bearings in the world and at home is because we spend too much time reacting to the Soviets and others and not enough time pursuing positive goals arising out of American principles of justice and liberty. Ultimately what we are *for* matters a lot more than what we are *against*.

"One of the greatest evils of the day among those outside of prison is their sense of futility. Young people say what good can one person do? What is the sense of our small effort? They cannot see that we must lay one brick at a time, take one step at a time. We can be responsible only for the one action of the present moment. But we can beg for an increase of love in our hearts that will vitalize and transform all our individual actions, and know that God will take them and multiply them, as Jesus multiplied the loaves and fishes."

Dorothy Day
Co-Founder, *The Catholic Worker*

Be confident and faithful to our cause: Protecting children is a mission second to none in national importance. We are testing once again the viability of the American experiment for the least of the least and seeking to mend the family fabric which holds America together. Franklin Roosevelt thought the "test of our progress is not whether we add to the abundance of those who have much. It is whether we provide enough for those who have little."

Be courageous: We must look beyond the appearances of the moment and understand that we are in a long-haul struggle to make America fulfill its promise of opportunity for every child regardless of color or class or family type or place of birth. Continue to turn temporary setbacks into opportunities as so many of you have done already during the Reagan famine. Many child advocates have used the assault on children and the poor to learn how to fight better at state and local levels, to expand their knowledge of the budget process, taxes, and defense spending, and to play in a faster game of political tradeoffs. Now we must learn how to affect the media and presidential politics to broaden the arena for children's concerns and to extend our caring for children beyond

our national borders in support of UNICEF's goals to save millions of Third World children's lives as we try to save our own and provide a moral example of what a nation can and should do for its children. It will take a long time to build a world fit for children, but we must begin at home. Reinhold Niebuhr reminded us that: "Nothing that is worth doing can be achieved in our lifetime; therefore we must be saved by hope. Nothing which is true or beautiful or good makes complete sense in any immediate context of history; therefore we must be saved by faith. Nothing we do, however virtuous, can be accomplished alone; therefore we are saved by love. No virtuous act is quite as virtuous from the standpoint of our friend or foe as it is from our standpoint. Therefore we must be saved by the final form of love which is forgiveness."

Be prayerful that we and those in power will be guided by justice and compassion.

Marian Wright Edelman
President, Children's Defense Fund

1. THE FEDERAL BUDGET PROCESS: WHY IT MATTERS, HOW IT WORKS, AND WHERE IT IS GOING

- More than 350,000 poor children lost access to health care as a result of congressional actions on the federal budget in 1981.
- Up to 400,000 poor children were extended health care coverage due to federal budget actions that Congress took in 1984.
- Up to 500,000 disadvantaged children will gain access to remedial reading and mathematics instruction as a result of congressional actions on the federal budget in 1986.
- Millions of children once again stand to lose health care, and thousands of youths stand to lose access to a college education or employment training, while many more may be denied other vital child care, education, or protective services if the President's proposed FY 1988 budget is adopted by Congress in 1987.

The annual federal budget has a very direct and immediate impact on the well-being and the future of America's children, adolescents, and families. Through the budget our nation makes the decisions to raise, lower, or maintain spending on a multitude of programs that affect our lives every day.

The decisions made determine the level of commitment to specific federal programs to alleviate poverty among families and children, to foster self-sufficiency among our youths and prevent teen pregnancy, and to invest in the health, education, and productivity of future generations.

The budget process also determines where children and families rank in the larger process of setting national priorities. Its many complex steps and procedures enable the Executive Branch, Congress, and the public to give lengthy consideration to alternative and often competing national priorities for federal spending and financing. The need for national investments in children,

adolescents, and families is weighed along with other national needs in such areas as business, agriculture, transportation, and national defense.

Concerned citizens, parents, advocates, and all those interested in children and families have an enormous stake in the federal budget process. While the steps involved are numerous and the budget itself complex, the importance of its basic purpose compels both public understanding and participation. This chapter is designed to make participation in this process easier for child advocates.

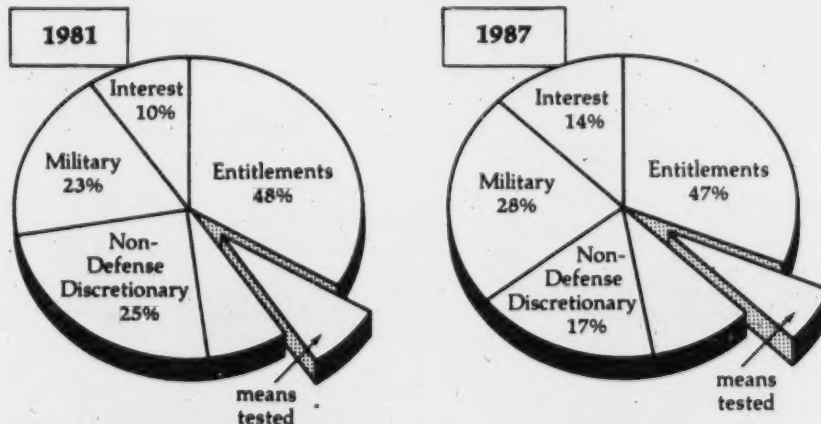
Today's Federal Budget: A Portrait of Skewed Priorities

Federal revenues (or income) and federal expenditures (or spending) combine to determine the federal budget. When revenues and expenditures equal one another, the budget is balanced. If revenues exceed expenses, a budget surplus results. In all but one of the past twenty-five years, however, revenues have fallen short of expenditures, resulting in a budget deficit. The Budget Resolution adopted by Congress in June 1986 for the current 1987 fiscal year set revenues at approximately \$850 billion, set expenditures at approximately \$995 billion, and projected a deficit of approximately \$145 billion.

Federal revenues are derived primarily from individual income taxes, corporate income taxes, and Social Security payroll taxes (FICA). Excise and estate taxes and customs duties are other, smaller sources.

Federal expenditures fall into several general categories: interest on the national debt, national defense, entitlements and mandatory spending items, and non-defense discretionary programs. The pie charts show the shares of federal spending devoted to each of these categories in the current fiscal year (FY 1987), and a comparative look at how the federal "pie" was divided in FY 1981, prior to the first full year of the Reagan Administration.

The Division of the Federal Budget Pie, FY 1981 and FY 1987



* The numbers shown for each year add up to 106 percent because of offsetting receipts that total 6 percent.

Source: Congressional Budget Office

The FY 1987 budget pie is divided as follows:

- Interest payments on the national debt constitute 14 percent.
- National defense is the second largest category of budget expenditures, consuming 28 percent of this year's budget. National defense spending includes funds for the military activities of the Department of Defense, the Selective Service, the nuclear weapons programs carried out by the Department of Energy, and other defense activities.
- Entitlements and other mandatory spending items account for the largest share of federal expenditures, or 47 percent this year. In general, entitlements are programs that provide benefits to all persons or units of government or businesses that meet eligibility requirements and thus are "entitled" to receive them.

The vast majority of expenditures in such programs do not serve the poor alone or primarily. Entitlements range from farm price supports to Social Security to Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and generally are divided into those that are "means-tested" (provided only to persons eligible on the basis of their limited "means," or income) and non-means-tested (provided to those eligible without regard to income).

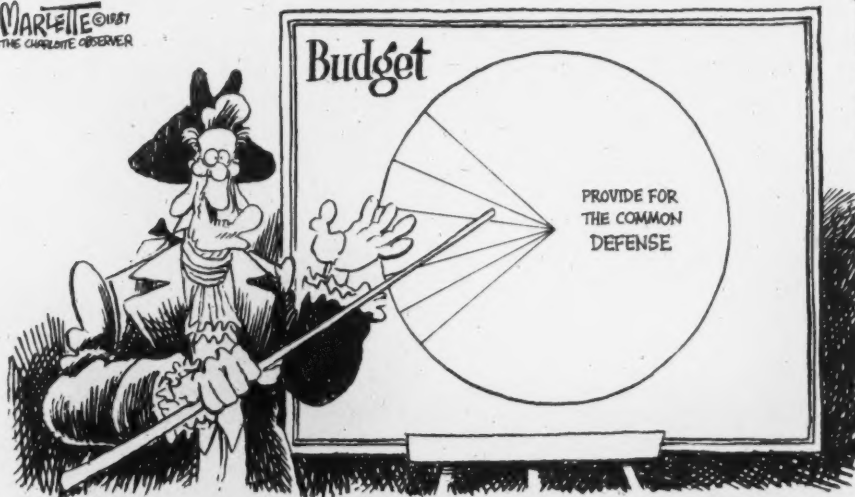
- **Means-tested entitlements** constitute a small and shrinking portion of entitlement expenditures. Only approximately 15 percent of FY 1987 entitlement funds are being spent through programs that are means-tested, including Medicaid, food stamps and Child Nutrition, AFDC, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), and Vocational Rehabilitation.
- **Non-means-tested entitlements** include the very large Social Security and Medicare programs, as well as civilian and railroad retirement payments, and constitute 85 percent of all federal entitlement spending in 1987.
- All other federal expenditures are grouped in the non-defense discretionary category. Annual funding for such discretionary programs is fixed not by the number of eligible recipients or the rules of the programs but primarily through decisions made in the congressional budget and appropriations process. Almost all grants to state and local governments, housing, employment, transportation, and education programs are included in this category. Aside from some of the means-tested entitlements, all programs primarily serving poor children and families—such as Head Start, Chapter I, and the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children—fall in this group. Yet only 17 percent of all federal spending now is directed to discretionary programs overall, and only a tiny portion of that is directed toward the poor.

During the Reagan Administration's tenure there has been a major shift in how the federal budget "pie" is divided among these different categories of spending, albeit not a shift as large as the Administration has wanted.

One major change has been the nation's greatly reduced commitment to the development of strong, healthy, and productive children. Massive amounts of funds were withdrawn from federal programs designed to provide for the basic needs of poor children and families for food, health care, education, and other vital services. For 1982 alone, more than \$10 billion was cut from these survival programs. Non-defense discretionary spending—including all such

spending for children and families—was reduced from 25 percent of the budget in 1981 to 17 percent in FY 1987. Overall entitlement spending was reduced from 48 percent in 1981 to 47 percent in FY 1987, and means-tested entitlements fell from about 17 percent to less than 15 percent of the entitlement portion during the same period. The division of the budget pie changed and the share of federal funds committed to the nation's poor children and families was reduced substantially.

MARLETTE ©1987
THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER



"...SO WE HAD TO CUT BACK ON FORMING A MORE PERFECT UNION, ESTABLISHING JUSTICE, PROMOTING THE GENERAL WELFARE, INSURING DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY, AND SECURING THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY FOR OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY!..."

While Congress has acted to stop most additional large and harsh budget cuts proposed by the President in subsequent years, and has made modest restorations in some programs for low-income children and families, much damage has been done. Chapters throughout this book provide ample evidence of the harm imposed on the nation's children by the budget policies of the Reagan Administration years. These policies have reflected a basic shift in national priorities—a shift that was short-sighted and that many in Congress now feel should be short-lived. Whether these priorities prevail or are reversed will be determined by the congressional budget process and how hard you and we work to influence it.

A Step-by-Step Guide to How Our Nation Makes Its Budget

The process of developing a budget for the federal government each year is lengthy and complex. It is a relatively new process, initially established in 1974 to provide Congress with mechanisms and procedures to participate fully in the setting of national spending and revenue priorities.

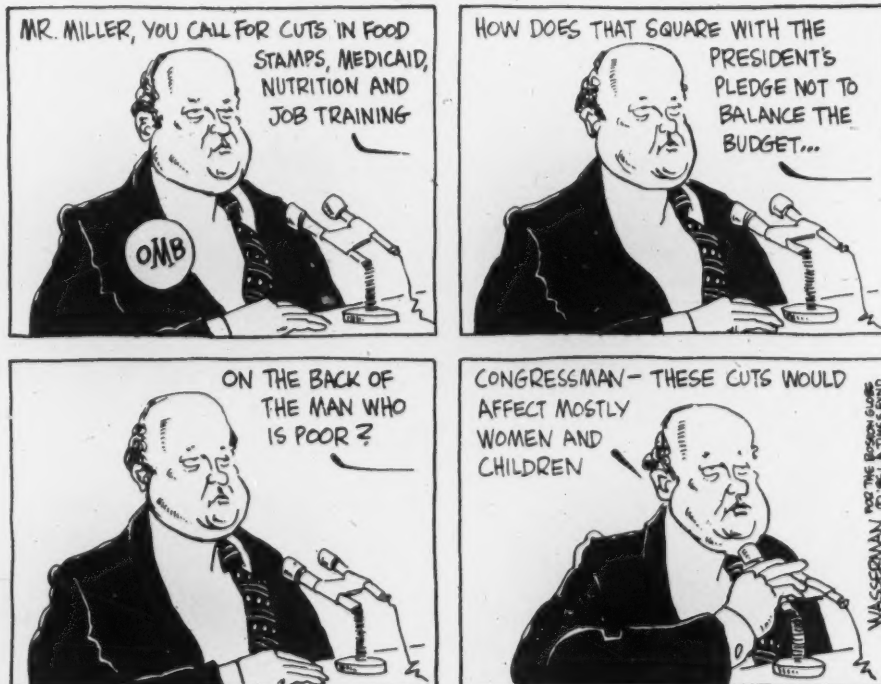
Until then, Congress had made hundreds or thousands of individual decisions about federal taxes and expenditures for specific programs and services without any institutional mechanism to pull them all together and view the budget pie as a whole. Without such an overview process, many believed

that Congress could not set clear budget priorities, leaving this crucial role almost exclusively in the hands of the Executive Branch.

Today, Congress shares the power of shaping the budget through a complex series of steps:

Step 1: The President Submits a Proposed Budget for the Upcoming Fiscal Year to Congress

The President submits to Congress his proposed budget for the federal government for the upcoming fiscal year in January or early February. The President's budget proposal has no legal force, but outlines the Administration's revenue and spending priorities and plans. The proposal's detailed funding recommendations for each department, agency, service, and program have been developed by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) after months of closed-door deliberations and negotiations among the various executive departments and agencies. The President normally explains his budget proposals in general terms in his annual State of the Union address to Congress and the nation.



Step 2: The President's Budget Proposal Is Referred Simultaneously to the Budget Committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate

The Budget Committees of the House and the Senate (the memberships of which are listed in the appendix) then undertake separate and extensive deliberations on national revenue and expenditure policies. The committees review the President's proposed budget plan along with alternative plans put forward by members of Congress. The committees wrestle with competing

needs and hard choices, a task made all the more difficult in recent years by the constraints of overwhelming budget deficits. National priorities are considered in the light of necessary trade-offs and the inevitable political considerations.

The Budget Committees conduct public hearings to assist in their deliberations, soliciting the views of individuals, groups, and organizations. After lengthy analysis, each committee develops its own proposed Budget Resolution for the upcoming fiscal year. The committees' Budget Resolutions may replicate some or all of the spending and revenue priorities initially proposed by the President, as was generally the case in 1981 and 1982, or may incorporate a set of national values and priorities vastly different from the President's, as has been the case more recently.

The committees' resolutions propose overall ceilings on total federal spending and the deficit, as well as more specific ceilings on spending for general categories of federal programs, grouped together in broad budget functions, such as health (function 550) or education (500), or income support and job training (600). In addition, each resolution contains instructions to various other committees of Congress, assigning to each a particular amount of allowable spending and, importantly, usually an amount of budget savings that must be made through revenue or program changes. These overall spending ceilings, the amounts specified for each function, and the instructions to the relevant committees are the critical components of the budget plan. They serve as guidelines for the implementation of the Budget Resolution through further legislation.

Step 3: The Budget Resolutions Developed by the Two Budget Committees Are Brought to the Floors of the House and Senate

The full memberships of the House and the Senate vote on the Budget Resolutions developed by their respective Budget Committees. In both houses, national revenue and spending priorities are debated in the context of the committees' budgets and alternative budget proposals. Budget Resolutions, including spending and deficit ceilings and budget savings, are approved by a majority of the members in each house.

Step 4: The Two Budget Resolutions Are Referred to a Conference Committee on the Budget

The Budget Resolution adopted by the House inevitably differs from the resolution adopted by the Senate. To iron out differences and reach a compromise, a Conference Committee is formed, composed of members from each chamber's budget committee.

The Conference Committee again reviews revenue and spending policies and specific expenditure priorities. Upon reaching agreement, it develops a joint Budget Resolution featuring overall spending and deficit ceilings, functional spending ceilings, and whatever instructions to appropriations committees are necessary to meet them.

Step 5: The Conference Report on the Budget Resolution Is Brought Back to the Floors of the House and Senate

All members of Congress in both houses are presented with the final budget plan that emerges from the Conference Committee and then vote on the plan. In both houses, a majority vote is necessary to adopt the Concurrent Budget Resolution for the fiscal year.

The Concurrent Budget Resolution is critical to guiding further congressional action. It sets binding limits on such action. It is not a law, however, and thus does not require a presidential signature.

Step 6: The Concurrent Budget Resolution Is Implemented Through Appropriations and Reconciliation Legislation

The national priorities reflected in the revenue levels and the ceilings placed on spending and on the deficit in the annual Budget Resolution require additional legislation to translate them into specific tax changes, spending changes, or changes in program rules. These changes generally are made through two additional legislative processes or steps: reconciliation legislation and appropriations legislation. Each step requires consideration and approval by numerous committees of Congress, each house, and the President before becoming law.

Reconciliation legislation makes any tax, revenue, or basic program changes (particularly in entitlement programs) necessary to meet budget goals. Specific amounts of budget savings and deficit reduction are assigned to various committees of Congress by the reconciliation instructions contained in the Budget Resolution. Each committee then must choose which legislative changes to make in the range of programs under its jurisdiction in order to obey these instructions. Committees have considerable leeway in making these choices. In some cases, a committee will increase spending for some purposes and reduce it for others, making reconciliation legislation one vehicle for program improvements.

All of the changes made in various committees then are brought together into a single reconciliation bill. This omnibus bill must be adopted by both houses of Congress and signed by the President.

For good or ill, reconciliation bills are among the most important pieces of federal legislation passed each year, with enormous impact on programs and services for low-income children and families. In 1981, for example, reconciliation legislation made major reductions in AFDC eligibility, Child Nutrition and food stamp benefits, and access to Medicaid coverage. In contrast, 1985 and 1986 reconciliation bills made significant improvements in Medicaid; and, to a lesser degree, other entitlement benefits for children and families.

Appropriations legislation is also critical to low-income children and families, since it determines the specific annual funding level for each key discretionary program, in areas such as education, job training, maternal and child health, immunizations; child abuse and protective services, and many others. Like reconciliation legislation, it is guided by the limits set in the Budget Resolution, but each committee has considerable latitude regarding the funding levels of each program. There are thirteen annual appropriations bills. Funding for most children's programs is contained in the Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education appropriations bill.

Federal programs usually are funded for the fiscal year beginning each October 1 (FY 1988 begins on October 1, 1987). To ensure that these programs are provided their annual funding, the budget, appropriations, and reconciliation processes must be completed by that date. In recent years, however, many of the thirteen appropriations bills have not been completed by October 1. This has forced Congress to put all the unfinished appropriations bills into a single omnibus appropriations law, termed a Continuing Resolution, and rush this bill through the legislative process by October 1. Some Continuing Resolutions have covered virtually entire fiscal years; others have covered just a short period until Congress could finish appropriations laws.

The long and complex budget process and its implementation seldom adhere to the timetable set in the law. The new Gramm-Rudman law, discussed next, has moved forward the deadlines for many of the steps listed above in an attempt to expedite the process, and includes several mechanisms to enforce deadlines. Nevertheless, Congress seems to fall behind each year.

Implementation of the congressional Budget Resolution through reconciliation and appropriations legislation brings the budget process full circle: the bills go back to the desk of the President for his signature.

Gramm-Rudman: A New Wrinkle in the Budget Process

In 1985 a radical change in the congressional budget process was made with enactment of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act (PL 99-177). The new legislation made sweeping changes in the budget process in an attempt to alter the budget itself—specifically to reduce and then eliminate the deficit. Mandating that the budget be balanced by FY 1991, Gramm-Rudman established in law sharply descending deficit ceilings for each of the following fiscal years:

FY 1986	\$171.9 billion
FY 1987	\$144 billion
FY 1988	\$108 billion
FY 1989	\$ 72 billion
FY 1990	\$ 36 billion
FY 1991	\$ 0

Gramm-Rudman also added a radical new procedure—termed sequestration—to the annual budget process. Under the new law, if the careful weighing of national priorities described above failed to reduce the deficit, sequestration automatically would make whatever size cut is necessary to do so. The cut would come in all affected federal programs, including many serving poor children and families such as Head Start, the Title XX Social Services Block Grant that funds child care and other services, job training, and education programs. While the U.S. Supreme Court subsequently found the automatic sequestration procedure unconstitutional, other Gramm-Rudman changes in the budget process remain in effect, including the deficit ceilings.

Gramm-Rudman is an ill-conceived attempt to deal with a very real problem. The federal budget deficit more than doubled in just four years—increasing from an initial all-time high of \$79 billion in FY 1981 to an unprecedented level of more than \$200 billion by FY 1985. Measured in relation to the Gross National Product (GNP), a commonly used comparison, the federal deficit jumped in only two years from 2.6 percent of the GNP in FY 1981 to more than 6 percent in FY 1983. Deficits continue at high levels. Estimates of the deficit vary from month to month due to numerous factors. The FY 1987 deficit, estimated at \$145 billion when Congress passed its final Concurrent Budget Resolution in June 1986, was estimated at \$173 billion by January 1987 when the President submitted his budget for FY 1988.

Federal deficits of such mammoth proportions require the federal

government to borrow huge sums of money and pay billions of dollars in interest payments each year. The national debt now exceeds \$2 trillion, with net interest payments alone exceeding \$135 billion in FY 1987. This deficit legacy of the 1980s will rest on the shoulders of today's children—more than 20 percent of whom are poor.

Gramm-Rudman, however, has not addressed the real deficit problem because it has not altered its two main causes: the astronomical increase in military spending and the enactment in 1981 of new and huge tax subsidies for corporations.

Yearly spending for national defense, which increased by almost 50 percent from FY 1976 to FY 1980, skyrocketed by \$176 billion, more than doubling, from FY 1980 to FY 1987. At the same time that many programs for children and families were being cut by 10 and 20 and 30 percent, spending for national defense was increased in excess of 10 percent yearly for five consecutive years. The House Budget Committee estimates that the increases in defense spending during this period of time account for approximately one-quarter of the current deficit.

The second major cause of the deficit crisis has been the impact of regressive tax legislation benefiting corporations and wealthy individuals that President Reagan and Congress enacted in 1981. By freeing many profitable corporations from paying federal income taxes, it drained the treasury of billions of dollars in needed federal revenues. While the Tax Reform Act of 1986 eliminated many of the unfair tax breaks and provided badly needed tax relief to low-income working families, it did not add needed revenues to the federal treasury.

While further deficit reduction is necessary, few believe that the Gramm-Rudman deficit targets are economically or politically practical. Some fear that major economic upheaval may result from the massive reductions required. For Congress and the President actually to meet the \$108 billion deficit target for FY 1988 would require tax increases or budget cuts in the neighborhood of \$40 billion to \$50 billion. Dropping to \$72 billion in 1989, much less to zero in 1991, could wreak havoc. It is entirely possible that Congress will amend the Gramm-Rudman targets in the years ahead, or stretch out the time frame significantly.

The Nation Needs Budget Policies That Make Adequate Investments in Children and Families

Continuation of the budget policies of recent years threatens social as well as economic bankruptcy. Mounting evidence of widespread and lasting harm to America's social fabric stemming from the budget policies of the Reagan era has prompted responsible leaders in Congress, the business community, academia, and the public to seek a more responsible alternative. Policy-makers again are discussing budget decisions in terms of investment in and caring for our citizens, as well as sound and prudent principles of revenue and spending.

Accordingly, many of the budget policies suggested by the Reagan Administration have been rejected by Congress in recent years. In 1985 and again in 1986, the original budget plans proposed by the Reagan Administration were rejected overwhelmingly on the floor of the House of Representatives. Congress also turned down the President's request for huge increases in defense spending. Congressional support for further increases in defense spending is seen as unlikely.

Encouragingly, Congress is not only turning away from President

Reagan's negative proposals to cut programs for families and children, but also is emphasizing positive steps of its own. In 1986 Congress gave top priority to and passed the Children's Initiative, a modest investment of additional funds in successful and cost-effective federal programs for low-income children and families. Enactment of funding increases for those programs was an important recognition that it is crucial to make a national investment in the development of strong, healthy, and educated children. Such expenditures increasingly are seen as prudent public policy, for they will save far more public dollars in the future than we spend today. They help guarantee that tomorrow's workers will be productive, tomorrow's families will be self-sufficient, and tomorrow's America will be strong.

In 1987, Congress must continue and expand its effort to restore rational priorities to the nation's budget, despite the constraints imposed by years of misguided priorities. Major investments will be required to make up for the gross imbalances in spending since 1981, which have contributed to the growth in child poverty and the shrinking incomes of families with children.

A forward-looking budget policy would provide for prevention by investing in programs that help children stay healthy and get a good education, and offer opportunities for the future. Such early intervention can stem the tide of teen pregnancy, dropouts, and joblessness that are often the consequences of neglecting our children and that cost our nation more in the long-term.

CDF's Legislative Agenda for the 100th Congress outlines a new budget blueprint for children and families that is based on these sound principles. Please help us achieve its adoption.

2. CDF'S LEGISLATIVE AGENDA FOR THE 100TH CONGRESS

Overview: Positive Investments in Children, Adolescents, and Families

The Children's Defense Fund's Legislative Agenda for the 100th Congress presents a program of positive investments in our nation's children, adolescents, and families. These investments are critical to the development of educated and healthy children, to the preparation of adolescents to be good workers and parents and responsible citizens in adulthood, and to the creation of self-sufficient families. They are equally important to the future strength, productivity, and competitiveness of our nation as it enters the twenty-first century.

CDF's Legislative Agenda attempts to point the nation in a new direction for the 1990s and beyond. It proposes a series of sound investments—initial steps toward national policies that reflect the basic goals for our children shared by all Americans: a roof over their heads; nutritious food in their stomachs; vaccines and check-ups to keep them well; health care when they are sick; support when they are troubled; and the nurturing, care, and education that will give them skills, hope, and a future. In a time of limited resources, the Agenda's proposals are based on the sound investment principles of prevention, performance, and cost-effectiveness.

Our nation's task is to repair first the major damage done to America's families and their children by the national policies of the 1980s. The erosion of many Americans' incomes combined with federal budget cuts affecting nearly every area of families' lives mean that a much larger number of Americans cannot meet even their most basic survival needs. More and more families are unable to care adequately for their children, to provide for their health needs, or even to put a roof over their heads. Even among moderate-income families, budget cuts are hampering their ability to provide hope and options to their children. Purchasing a home or sending children to college has been ruled out for more and more American families because wages and family incomes have stagnated, while public investments in education, housing, and health care have been reduced drastically. The economic and budgetary erosion has left America's next generation disproportionately poor, undereducated, and untrained.

- More than 20 percent of our children live in poverty.

- More than one in seven of our youths fail to graduate from high school. More than 30 percent of our youths do so badly on skills tests that they would be turned down for enlistment in our armed forces, except in special circumstances.
- Nearly one in four American babies is born to a woman who does not receive prenatal care in the early stages of pregnancy.
- Between 34 and 45 percent of our preschoolers are not fully immunized against one or more of such basic preventable diseases as measles and diphtheria. Our infant mortality rate lags behind that of most other industrialized nations. A black infant born in Chicago is more likely to die in the first year of life than an infant born in Jamaica or Costa Rica.
- Increasing numbers of our children are abused and neglected, with more than 1.9 million reported incidents in 1985, an increase of more than 40 percent since 1981.
- More of our children lack one of the most fundamental elements of survival, a place to live. More than 20 percent of the population in shelters for the homeless are children.
- Many of our children, already ill-prepared for adulthood, are themselves having children: more than 12 percent of teenage girls are already mothers. Each year 1.1 million teenagers get pregnant and nearly half a million give birth.

The costs of this neglect—both in human and dollar terms—are high.

- Lack of adequate nutrition and medical care during pregnancy is a primary cause of low birthweight. Low-birthweight babies are twenty times more likely to die in their first year of life and are at a significantly greater risk of developing such permanently handicapping conditions as retardation, cerebral palsy, and autism.
- Low-birthweight babies require substantial medical care and hospitalization, costing on the average \$6,996 per infant—far beyond the \$660 cost of comprehensive prenatal care that effectively reduces the incidence of low-birthweight births by more than 25 percent.
- Evidence indicates a strong link between poor basic educational skills—something we know well how to prevent—and teen pregnancy and childbearing. Teens with poor basic skills are five times as likely to become mothers before age sixteen as those with average basic skills. Lifetime earnings for teen mothers are far less than those of women who delay pregnancy.
- The cost of low educational attainment is great, both for the individual and for society. A high school dropout on the average will earn only about one-half of what someone who spends four years in college will earn.

This waste of lives and money is unjustifiable from either a fiscal or humane viewpoint. We Americans know better. Our history is replete with successful programs and approaches that have enhanced dramatically the health, education, and future productivity of our youths. Investments in public health care programs initiated during the 1960s made a significant contribution to lowering our infant mortality rate. Investments in education programs initiated in the 1960s and 1970s paid off by reducing the reading achievement gap between black and white elementary school children by 40 percent.

Congress must take the lead in charting a new national course for the 1990s. As a first step, CDF recommends that the 100th Congress make investments in federal programs for children, adolescents, and families that are tested, that are preventive, and that are cost-effective.

CDF's Legislative Agenda is a realistic beginning to a new national direction. It includes sound investments in programs that can save scarce public resources while they prevent low-birthweight births, save lives, raise educational skills, and address the pressing problems of teenage pregnancy and youth unemployment. Highlights include:

- **Prenatal and maternity care** that can reduce the incidence of low-birthweight births and infant and neonatal mortality. Every \$1 invested in maternity care saves \$3 by reducing medical and hospital costs in the first year alone of a baby's life, and \$11 over the life of a child. Yet 23 percent of pregnant women do not receive early prenatal care.
- **The Head Start** child development program, which studies repeatedly show helps participating disadvantaged youngsters achieve life-long educational, social, and career gains. Participants in Head Start and similar programs are less likely than other disadvantaged preschoolers later to become teenage parents or welfare recipients and more likely to complete high school, enroll in college or vocational training, and enter the world of work. For every \$1 invested in Head Start \$7 is saved—yet more than 80 percent of those eligible for this vital program are denied its benefits.
- **Chapter I Compensatory Education**, a highly successful program of reading and mathematics instruction for disadvantaged children that significantly increases participants' basic skills in these areas. At present, however, more than 50 percent of young children in need of Chapter I services are denied access to this program.
- **Job training programs** that have been successful in preparing adolescents and young adults for work, enabling more of them to live productive, self-sufficient lives. Despite the recognized need to ensure a competitive work force, ours is the only industrialized nation without a firm commitment to job training for at-risk teens and non-college-bound youths, dislocated workers, and unemployed adults. Additional investments in the Summer Youth Employment Program, Job Corps, and other federal training efforts are essential.
- **Child abuse prevention and remediation** programs that assist abused and neglected children to develop into well-adjusted and healthy adults. Despite ample evidence of the high human and financial costs of neglecting these problems, public programs still do not adequately serve many of the children who are abused or neglected.

CDF also recommends that Congress build on the successful experiments of a limited number of small demonstration programs that effectively have addressed new and difficult problems. It is important to focus new efforts on teens who are at risk of dropping out of school, getting pregnant, or not entering the work force. CDF's Legislative Agenda includes:

- **Youth Opportunity Accounts** that reward teenagers' achievements with greater assistance for additional education and work training opportunities.

- **Dropout prevention efforts** aimed at keeping in school teens at risk of dropping out, and returning others back to school.
- **Teen case management** pilot projects to assist teens in AFDC families to achieve future self-sufficiency through greater education, employment, and supportive services.

The 100th Congress must address many extremely difficult questions facing the nation as it prepares to enter the twenty-first century. All of the issues on Congress's agenda—including the federal budget, trade legislation, educational reauthorization, welfare reform, the nation's economic performance, and the health care system—vitally affect the nation's children and their future. The Children's Defense Fund urges Congress to incorporate the proposals outlined below into legislative plans to address these problems.

Legislative Agenda

Health

Our nation must ensure that all children, adolescents, and families have access to affordable, appropriate health care; yet 35 million Americans, one-third of whom are children, from both working and nonworking families, lack any type of health insurance coverage, public or private. In addition, almost none of the Surgeon General's modest 1990 maternal and infant health Objectives for the Nation will be met. A comprehensive system of health care, with partnership among federal and state governments, private health insurance carriers, employers, and individuals, must be developed for all Americans. The 100th Congress can initiate such a system most efficiently by making a series of incremental improvements in current federal health care efforts.

- **Medicaid:** Provides the most important public health program in the country for pregnant women and children; however, Medicaid reaches fewer than half of all low-income children, adolescents, and pregnant women who need its services. The following modest initiatives for FY 1988 build on Medicaid improvements for poor pregnant women and children recently enacted by Congress.
 - **Children and adolescents:** Extend Medicaid services to low-income children age five to eighteen, and to youths age eighteen to twenty-one who are still in school, job training, or employed, at a federal cost of approximately \$92 million, by:
 - Requiring states to provide Medicaid to these two groups of children when family income is less than state AFDC benefit levels;
 - Providing states the option to extend Medicaid to these two groups of children when family income is above AFDC levels but below the federal poverty level.
 - **Pregnant women:** Provide states the option to extend automatic Medicaid eligibility (from the point that pregnancy is verified until sixty days postpartum) for all otherwise uninsured pregnant women with incomes up to 185 percent of the federal poverty level, at a federal cost of approximately \$40 million.

- **Other adults:** Provide states the option to extend Medicaid services to any person with family income below the federal poverty level. (Federal costs subject to further estimates.)
- **Pregnant adolescents:** Avoid the denial of Medicaid coverage to pregnant adolescents whose parents do not or cannot provide them with adequate medical care by prohibiting states from deeming income from parents to minor pregnant adolescents. Teen mothers account for about one out of every eight low-birthweight births—a tragic and costly risk that can be reduced significantly by prenatal care. (Costs subject to further estimates.)
- **Pediatric care:** Require states to provide children with all medically necessary pediatric care, without “amount, duration, and scope” limitations other than medical necessity. Cost: \$436 million in FY 1988.
- **Maternal and Child Health Block Grant:** Provides basic prenatal care, check-ups, immunizations, and other essential health services to low-income mothers and children. An FY 1987 Supplemental Appropriation increase of \$75 million and FY 1988 program funding at \$557 million would allow expanded Title V services in general as well as provide funds for the new component authorized but not funded in 1986: community-based pediatric health programs, including projects for school-age children at accessible sites.
- **Community and Migrant Health Centers:** Provide comprehensive health services to low-income families, as an essential component of federal health care efforts. An FY 1988 authorization and appropriation of \$550 million is required to extend these cost-effective services to additional low-income families otherwise without access to health care.
- **Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC):** Provides nutritional supplements to low-income, at-risk pregnant women, infants, and children. Recent evidence shows the program is effective in preventing premature births, fetal deaths, and other problems among pregnant women and newborn babies. Despite its success, WIC is provided to fewer than half of those eligible and in need of its services. A five-year effort to increase program participation to ensure that all needy eligible women, infants, and children receive benefits means that an FY 1988 appropriation increase of at least \$200 million is needed, with comparable increases in each of the four following years.
- **Family planning:** Provides essential health, education, and family planning services to young women and mothers. Family planning services have been shown to save \$2 for each dollar spent through prevention of unintended pregnancies. An FY 1988 appropriation of \$158.6 million for administration, training, and services is needed to permit this program to serve populations in need more adequately.
- **Immunizations:** Ensure the health of our children and save future medical costs by preventing polio, diphtheria, measles, mumps, tetanus, and whooping cough. While all children must be appropriately immunized, currently only about 34 to 45 percent of preschoolers are immunized fully against preventable childhood diseases. Steps to

improve this situation over the next five years must begin by appropriating \$150 million for immunization grants in FY 1988, and by implementing the new National Childhood Vaccine Injury Act.

Education

An effective education is necessary for the personal development of our children and youths as well as for the development of the knowledge and skills they need to be productive and thoughtful members of our society. Children are future parents, leaders, and workers that the nation can ill afford to lose because they needlessly lack basic skills, have dropped out of school, or are otherwise unprepared for a self-sufficient and productive future. A major national commitment shared by federal, state, and local governments, parents, teachers, and children will be required if all of today's children are to be educated adequately and trained for tomorrow's challenges. The following contains a range of education proposals to help children with special needs, including expanding successful federal programs as well as supporting promising new efforts.

- **Chapter I:** Provides basic instructional services such as remedial reading and mathematics for disadvantaged elementary and secondary students, and has improved significantly the test scores of participants. Yet Chapter I services are denied to about 50 percent of the children in need of such services. All eligible children must be provided this successful and cost-effective educational program. Chapter I must be reauthorized, with program funding increased to \$4.944 billion by FY 1989, an increase of \$1 billion over two years, with some of the additional funds earmarked for the following purposes and sites:
 - *A preschool program* to ensure early childhood and child development services to disadvantaged three- to five-year-olds with a component that enhances parental literacy and provides parents with the skills and techniques to help their children learn.
 - *Additional middle school efforts* to raise the basic skills of low-achieving economically disadvantaged ten- to fourteen-year-old children who are unlikely to get Chapter I services at current funding levels.
 - *Districts with high concentrations of poor children* in order to better focus the program's resources where some of the greatest need is.
- **Bilingual education:** Provides bilingual education services to students with limited English proficiency and non-English-speaking students. Despite an estimated 2.4 million to 3.6 million children ages five to thirteen in need of such services, the program currently serves only 215,000 students. Approximately 160,000 additional students can be provided this essential education service through an appropriation of \$250 million in FY 1988, an increase of \$77 million over FY 1987.
- **Desegregation assistance:** The Magnet Schools Assistance Act supports desegregation efforts by assisting schools that attract diverse student bodies. An appropriation of \$150 million, double FY 1987 levels, is required in FY 1988.
- **Handicapped education:** Assists school districts in providing an appropriate education for handicapped children. Adequate funding in FY 1988 would:

- *Provide states with 15 percent* of the average per-pupil expenditure for handicapped children by appropriating \$2.109 billion for state and local programs, an increase of \$771 million.
- *Provide preschool grants* to serve an additional 23,000 handicapped three- to five-year-olds, by appropriating \$216 million in FY 1988, an increase of \$36 million, and support early intervention programs by appropriating \$75 million authorized for handicapped children from birth to two years old, an increase of \$25 million.
- **Higher education:** Pell grants provide assistance to low-income students for their college and university expenses. Substantially greater appropriations are needed to move toward funding Pell grants at the maximum level of \$2,500 per student by the end of three years, with a provision that up to \$1,000 in child care costs be allowed in the calculation of the costs of attendance. As a first step, the FY 1988 appropriation should be \$4.3 billion, an increase of \$500 million over FY 1987.
- **Dropout prevention:** A new initiative is needed to help curtail the high dropout rate: one in seven youths drops out of school, and in some communities as many as one in two fails to complete high school. Initial steps to deal with school dropouts must begin in FY 1988 with the authorization and appropriation of \$50 million to gather uniform nationwide information and to develop demonstration programs aimed at keeping potential dropouts in school and returning dropouts to school.
- **Chapter II:** Many federal programs designed to guarantee children their civil rights and provide them equal access to education were weakened by the switch in 1981 from categorical programs to the Chapter II block grant. The following change is a more efficient and effective use of certain Chapter II funds.
 - *Effective schools programs:* Support effective schools programs through a transfer of Chapter II funds. Such programs are characterized by strong school leadership, high expectations for students coupled with emphasis on basic skills development, an orderly school atmosphere, and individualized evaluation of student performance. Such programs have been highly successful in improving the educational achievement of participating children. Authorization of an Effective Schools program is a necessary component of federal efforts to better prepare today's children and youths, with the program funded at \$100 million in FY 1988.
 - **Community learning centers:** This new initiative would help support operation of such centers by community-based organizations and youth-serving agencies. Community learning centers have been successful in complementing school activities for poor and minority teenagers in out-of-school settings. The effectiveness of "second chance" learning programs for out-of-school youths and literacy programs for adults is limited sharply, however, by the inability of local programs to afford front-end investments in the latest testing materials and educational technologies. A revolving loan fund established to help local service providers purchase basic skills curricula, cost-effective microcomputers, and other teaching aids would spur the development of successful

remedial programs for out-of-school youths and adults without a net increase in federal expenditures. Federal costs of initial capitalization of the loan fund are subject to further estimates.

Training, Employment, and Wages

America's young people must possess the basic academic and vocational skills necessary to enter the work force and participate productively during their lifetimes at wages that allow family independence and self-sufficiency. To meet these challenges, a renewed commitment to develop a comprehensive system of remedial education, vocational training, and employment assistance for non-college-bound youths that parallels the federal commitment to those going on to college is required. Initial steps must be taken to expand current successful federal investments in employment training, coupled with new "second chance" learning opportunities, incentives for school completion, and school-to-work transition programs for teenagers who need help moving into the work force and leading self-sufficient lives.

- **Summer Youth Employment Program:** Offers disadvantaged youths important work experience during the summer months. Improved assistance for these at-risk teens can be provided by targeting additional funds to communities that offer participating youths individualized remedial education services and that use a guaranteed summer job as an incentive to keep teens in school during the regular school year. An FY 1988 appropriation of \$950 million, an increase of \$200 million, would support these needed improvements.
- **Job Corps:** Provides disadvantaged youths basic education, vocational training, and support services that research has shown to increase school completion, employment, and earnings among participants. More than 20,000 additional young people would receive this cost-effective training through an appropriation of \$800 million for the Job Corps in FY 1988, an increase of \$144 million.
- **Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) monitoring and enforcement:** The federal job training program is not serving youths to the extent required by the law. This change would strengthen existing employment and training programs under JTPA by mandating more vigorous enforcement of current requirements to serve youths, including school dropouts. Data collection at the state and national levels also needs to be enhanced to support more adequate enforcement and evaluation efforts.
- **Youth Opportunity Accounts:** This new initiative is designed to provide a greater sense of hope among disadvantaged youths and would reward achievement. A demonstration program for Youth Opportunity Accounts would allow at-risk teens in selected communities to earn credits toward future education, training, or subsidized work experience by reaching educational goals or performing community service. Authorization for the development of Youth Opportunity Accounts in a limited number of sites, together with an FY 1988 appropriation of \$20 million, would permit testing of this promising design for educational incentives that promote youth self-sufficiency.
- **School-to-work transition:** Many students leaving high school do not receive even the most minimal assistance in making the transition to work. An authorization to establish effective, low-cost programs that

give counseling and assistance on making the transition from school to work would replicate successful models such as the Jobs for America's Graduates program.

- **Minimum wage:** The failure to increase the federal minimum wage to keep up with inflation has contributed to the dramatic decline of earnings among young workers. The current minimum wage should be raised to \$3.95 immediately, with stepped increases in subsequent years to restore the minimum wage to its real 1979 value, adjusted for inflation.
- **Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC):** Designed to provide tax relief to low-income working families with children, the EITC does not provide sufficient relief to large working families otherwise eligible because it is not increased with family size. Adding an adjustment to the credit for low-income families with three or more children would provide more equitable relief to large working families. (Federal cost subject to further estimates.)
- **Dependent Care Tax Credit:** Designed to assist working families with child care expenses. Because of other changes in the federal tax system, the credit is no longer helpful to those most in need of child care assistance in order to work—low-income families with children. Increasing the percentage of child care expenses subject to the credit and making the credit refundable would ensure once again the availability of this tax credit to low-income working families. (Cost subject to further estimates.)

Family Supports

A federally supported system of income supports is essential for families in crisis, to assure that their children's needs for adequate food, clothing, and shelter are met appropriately, and to help the families gain economic independence and self-sufficiency. It is especially important that adolescents in such families be provided the supports and services necessary to stimulate their productive participation in the work force and help them achieve eventual self-sufficiency. The current Aid to Families with Dependent Children program (AFDC) fails to provide adequately for bare necessities for families, serves only a fraction of poor families, and does little to support families trying to become more self-sufficient. At a minimum, modest steps must be taken by the 100th Congress to provide more adequate supports for poor families and children. (Costs of these provisions subject to further estimate.)

- **Improving income supports for needy families:** Current AFDC benefits in most states are so low that they fail to provide even a minimum level of subsistence. In thirty-two states, AFDC benefit levels in July 1986 were less than 50 percent of the poverty level. Even combined AFDC and food stamp benefits were less than 75 percent of the poverty level in forty-one states. And in twenty-five states, children in two-parent unemployed families are ineligible for even these low benefits, regardless of how desperately poor they are. The following steps will begin to ensure families a more adequate level of subsistence to meet their needs:
 - **Need standards and benefit levels:** Require states to adjust their state need standards to reflect adequately current living costs and begin to raise benefits to meet those needs. A higher federal matching

rate would be provided to states that do so as an incentive to increase benefits, and by October 1991 all states would be required to provide combined AFDC and food stamp benefits at least equal to 75 percent of the federal poverty level, with subsequent increases to 100 percent of the poverty level.

- **Aid for unemployed two-parent families and pregnant women:** Provide AFDC to all children in needy families regardless of family composition or where in the country they live. Current restrictions on eligibility for two-parent families would be eased. A pregnant woman with no other children would be eligible for AFDC benefits from the time her pregnancy was medically verified.
- **Child support disregards:** Double the current \$50 AFDC child support disregard and apply it to food stamp eligibility and benefit calculations as well as AFDC eligibility and benefits.
- **Increasing work incentives to improve opportunities for self-sufficiency:** Education, training, and employment opportunities currently available for AFDC recipients who want to make the transition from welfare to work and toward self-sufficiency are inadequate. In addition, the AFDC benefit structure does little to encourage recipients to work. Rather, earnings reduce a family's AFDC grant virtually dollar-for-dollar, and once ineligible for AFDC the family often loses its Medicaid and child care assistance as well. Opportunities for AFDC recipients to achieve self-sufficiency will be significantly enhanced by the following provisions:
 - **Comprehensive education, training, and employment programs:** Expand the opportunity for states to establish comprehensive education, training, and employment programs for AFDC recipients who choose to participate in them. The programs should include individual assessments of the participants and their families, offer participants their choice of a range of education, training, and employment opportunities, ensure that participants have the supportive services necessary to be involved in the activities, and measure performance in terms of long-term employability, as well as shorter-term educational and training accomplishments.
 - **Expansion of earnings disregards:** Expand the earned income disregards to assist families on AFDC who are working at very low wages, to be applied in both initial eligibility and benefit determinations, and not be time-limited. The standard deduction for child care and work expenses should be indexed for inflation, and should be provided prospectively rather than after a time lag. A special child care allowance should be provided for AFDC parents who are in education or training programs. The EITC should be disregarded for purposes of both AFDC and food stamp eligibility and benefit levels.
 - **Transitional child care and health care:** Continue to provide transitional child care and health care on a sliding fee basis until such assistance becomes available through an employer or other means for families who lose AFDC eligibility due to employment.

- **Enhancing supports for teens:** New, special strategies are needed to help teen parents who are on AFDC become less dependent on the program and move toward eventual self-sufficiency. These comprehensive strategies must first ensure that teen parents have the academic skills, the job skills, and the supportive services (including child care) they need to find stable employment opportunities. Investments in similar strategies also are necessary to prevent early parenthood among teens in AFDC families, thereby enhancing their opportunities for self-sufficiency. The following steps can be taken to benefit pregnant and parenting teens, as well as teens who are not yet pregnant.
 - *Aid for students:* Require states to continue benefits to youths in AFDC families to age twenty-one, provided they are enrolled full time in school or other education, training, or vocational programs, or are attending school part time and also working or participating in a training or vocational program. Any stipends received by the teen from his or her participation in an employment training program would be disregarded for purposes of continuing AFDC eligibility and benefit levels.
 - *Case management pilot programs:* Provide funds for the establishment of at least three pilot programs designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of the case management model in supporting teens in AFDC families who are not pregnant or parents. The broker/counselor/advocate model of case management should be used to ensure that a comprehensive and coordinated set of health, education, employment preparation, recreation, counseling and, where appropriate, family planning services is provided to such teens.
 - *Eliminating disincentives for teen parents to live at home:* The current requirements that a grandparent's income be deemed available to the grandchild for the purpose of AFDC eligibility and benefits, even when the grandparent is not contributing to the grandchild's support, and that all parents and most minor siblings be included in the AFDC unit should be repealed. Teen parents living at home then would be eligible for the same level of assistance as those establishing separate households. This would encourage pregnant and parenting teens to live at home and eliminate current disincentives to such arrangements.
 - *Comprehensive education, training, and employment programs:* Provide funds for special grants to at least five states for comprehensive education, training, and employment programs for pregnant teens and young mothers with children younger than six choosing to participate. The programs will be designed to meet the individual needs of participants and include a range of supportive services.

Child Care and Head Start

All working families as well as families with parents in school or training programs must have access to affordable quality child care if they are to ensure their children proper and healthy development and allow their own productive participation in the work force. For low-income children especially, a high quality, comprehensive early childhood development experience can provide a brighter future. The supply of Head Start and child care lags far behind the

need, jeopardizing the well-being of many youngsters and preventing many low-income mothers from working or participating in education or training programs. In recognition of the irreversible change in the national labor force caused by the increasing entry of women with children, a comprehensive national child care system in partnership with state, local, and private efforts is essential. A modest beginning to such a system is the improvement of current successful and cost-effective federal efforts targeted to those most in need.

- **Head Start:** Provides critical developmental, educational, and health services to disadvantaged preschoolers and their families, improving their long-term school and employment prospects. This twenty-year-old program has been estimated to save society as much as \$7 in later costs for every \$1 invested. A five-year effort is necessary to provide quality Head Start services to all eligible children (more than 80 percent of whom currently are unserved) beginning with an FY 1988 appropriation of \$1.263 billion, an increase of \$132 million, and increased authorization and appropriation levels for FY 1989 and subsequent years.
- **Social Services Block Grant (Title XX):** Helps states fund a range of critical services for children and families, including day care services that allow low-income parents with young children to work and remain self-sufficient. As the need for child care, child abuse prevention, and other services increases, Title XX assistance to states must be increased, beginning with an FY 1988 authorization and funding level of \$3.3 billion, an increase of \$600 million.
- **Dependent Care Block Grant:** Helps working families with school-aged children find appropriate child care and enables parents to remain in the work force. To provide critical after-school care for children too young to return home alone and bring the program to its authorized level, an FY 1988 appropriation of \$20 million, an increase of \$15 million, is required.
- **Dependent Care Tax Credit:** Designed to assist working families with child care expenses. Because of other changes in the federal tax system, the credit is no longer helpful to those most in need—poor working parents with children. Increasing the percentage of child care expenses subject to the credit to 40 percent for families earning \$15,000 a year and less and making the credit refundable would restore the assistance of the credit to low-income working families. (Costs subject to further estimates.)
- **Higher Education Act:** Allows child care assistance to low-income mothers enrolled in institutions of higher learning, in order to provide them an opportunity to complete their education and better assure family self-sufficiency. An FY 1988 appropriation of \$10 million is required for this new effort.
- **Child Development Associate scholarships:** Help low-income persons to improve their skills as caregivers through a Child Development Associate credential. An FY 1988 appropriation of \$1.5 million (an increase of \$500,000) is required to fund fully the authorization for such scholarships and increase the pool of trained caregivers.
- **Respite child care and child care in nurseries:** Provides short-term care as needed to help parents under stress as well as parents with handicapped children. A new appropriation of \$10 million is necessary to begin these services in FY 1988.

Troubled Children and Families

Child abuse, neglect, emotional disturbance, running away, and other special problems of children in troubled families can be prevented and treated, thereby protecting the well-being of vulnerable children and adolescents, and saving scarce public resources as well. Critical services of proven effectiveness are currently available for only a fraction of the children in need, guaranteeing that the unmet needs of those not served will intensify. Increased opportunities and productive futures for troubled children, adolescents, and their families can be achieved by tripling federal investments in the following preventive services over the next five years.

- **Child abuse and family violence programs:** Provide vital services to abused children and adolescents and other victims of family violence. The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act must be reauthorized and a funding level of \$50 million, \$24.1 million over FY 1987, should be approved for FY 1988. For the Family Violence Prevention and Services Program, which must also be reauthorized for FY 1988, \$26 million, a \$17.5 million increase, is necessary.
- **Child welfare services:** Fund state efforts to preserve families and avoid unnecessary foster care, and to reunite with their parents children who have been placed in foster care. An FY 1988 appropriation of \$266 million (an increase of \$43.5 million) for the Title IV-B Child Welfare Services Program will allow states to expand their efforts to some of the many families they are now unable to serve because of demands caused by escalating reports of abuse and neglect.
- **Social Services Block Grant (Title XX):** Provides a range of services for low-income children and families, including preventive services, counseling, and other supports for vulnerable abused and neglected children and their families. With more than 1.9 million children reported abused in 1985, funding must be restored to Title XX to support staff and provide effective services to more of the abused and neglected children and their families each year. An authorization for Title XX in FY 1988 of \$3.3 billion, an increase of \$600 million over FY 1987, would be a significant first step.
- **Runaway and Homeless Youth Program:** Provides temporary shelter and other emergency services to troubled youths and facilitates family reunions when appropriate. Overcrowded shelters now are forced to turn teens away because of lack of beds or the inability to serve increasingly troubled youths. The Runaway and Homeless Youth Program should be funded at \$50 million for FY 1988, an increase of \$26.7 million.
- **Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Program:** Ensures that children and youths in the juvenile justice system receive appropriate care and treatment. Assistance to young offenders saves dollars and productive adult lives by deterring youths from more serious crime. To ensure that more youths in need are served and that greater investments can be made in preventive activities, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Program should be funded at \$100 million for FY 1988, an increase of \$30 million over FY 1987.
- **Child and Adolescent Service System Program:** Helps ensure that youths with serious emotional problems receive needed mental health

services by improving coordination among the numerous agencies responsible for them. The Child and Adolescent Service System Program (CASSP) must be funded at a level of at least \$10 million for FY 1988, \$5.3 million above the FY 1987 level, to allow the expansion of existing CASSP programs and to establish such initiatives in the remaining states. In addition, a set-aside of some of the mental health funds in the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant for services for seriously disturbed children and adolescents will supplement this initiative.

Food and Nutrition for Children and Families

All children need adequate nutrition to grow up healthy and without developmental problems. Yet millions of infants and pregnant women in need are denied access to the nutritional assistance known to aid in the prevention of infant death and debilitating conditions, and far too many children go to bed hungry. The following proposals are designed to improve and expand successful federal food and nutrition programs for pregnant women, infants, children, and families in an efficient manner:

- **Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC):** Provides nutritional supplements to low-income pregnant women, infants, and children at nutritional risk. Recent evidence once again proves that WIC's cost-effective services aid in the prevention of premature births, fetal deaths, and other problems among pregnant women and newborn babies. Despite its success, WIC is provided to fewer than half of those eligible and in need of its vital services. A five-year effort to increase program participation to ensure that all needy eligible women, infants, and children receive benefits means that an FY 1988 appropriation increase of at least \$200 million is needed, with comparable increases in each of the four following years.
- **Food stamps:** Provide critical help to 19 million low-income Americans each month. The following are important first steps to assure that poor families have a better chance of making it through the month without running out of food.
 - **Benefit levels adjustment:** Ensures needy families food assistance benefits based on the projected average costs of the "thrifty food plan" for each fiscal year. The thrifty food plan is the minimal food plan devised by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, but food stamp benefits now fall below the cost of the plan because of unnecessary time lags in benefit adjustment. This provision will assure more adequate food assistance at a cost of \$500 million to \$600 million.
 - **Reinstate outreach program:** Informs eligible families of the benefits, rules, requirements, and application procedures for food stamps by reinstating the outreach component abolished in 1981. Many of the neediest families remain outside the food stamp program because they do not understand eligibility requirements. The cost of this provision is \$5 million to \$10 million.
 - **Child support disregard:** Helps needy families by extending the AFDC child support disregard (currently \$50 a month) to food stamps. This provision, which facilitates uniform program administration, also makes the child support provisions in the 1985 farm bill more effective. The estimated cost is \$50 million.

- **Assets limits:** Increases the basic food stamp assets limits and the vehicle limit to the levels recommended in 1984 by the President's Task Force on Food Assistance. Assets limits were not adjusted from 1971 to 1985, despite high inflation. A small upward adjustment in 1985 was less than the President's Task Force recommended. (Costs subject to further estimates.)
- **Child Care Food Program:** Helps provide meals to children in day care, by assisting with the cost of such meals. Currently, however, assistance is limited to two meals and one snack each day, despite the fact that many children are in such facilities for long hours. Restoring assistance to provide for another meal and snack for these children would better assure their health and nutrition. (Costs subject to further estimates.)

3. HOW CONGRESS STANDS ON CHILDREN

The Children's Defense Fund Nonpartisan Voting Record of 1986

Introduction

Congress considers legislation each year that vitally affects the nation's children, adolescents, and families. While more than 3,000 bills and resolutions were introduced and referred to the committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate in 1986, only a fraction of them moved through the legislative process to the floor of each chamber for debate and vote. In 1986, a total of 805 floor votes were cast in the House and Senate, and a number of them reflected the importance that individual members placed on programs for children, adolescents, and families. A single vote played a large part in determining, for example, whether another poor youngster would participate in Head Start, or a low-income pregnant woman could obtain vital prenatal care, or a poor working family could be given tax relief.

Elected officials must be held accountable for the decisions and votes critical to their constituents and to the nation, and they must be urged to do better. It is therefore essential that parents, teachers, religious leaders, advocates, and all those concerned with the plight of the nation's children and families periodically review the decisions and votes affecting children made by their members of Congress. To assist in this effort, the Children's Defense Fund, as part of its ongoing lobbying activities, has compiled a record of the key votes affecting low-income children, adolescents, and families cast by Representatives and Senators in 1986. Based on each member's position on each of these key votes, CDF has calculated an overall rating.

Ten key votes from the House and ten from the Senate were selected after reviewing all votes cast by members of the 99th Congress during the second session (January to October 1986). The votes selected were those considered to be the most representative of CDF's Legislative Agenda, the most crucial to the program or issue involved, and the most important to the lives and well-being of poor children and families.

The ten votes in each house include those cast on many different types of bills and resolutions. With increasing frequency Congress has grouped numerous and often unrelated programs, activities, and issues together into a single, omnibus piece of legislation. The Budget Resolution, the reconciliation legislation, the Continuing Resolution, and the Tax Reform Act are all omnibus type bills. Votes on them were included because one or more of the programs

and issues in these bills were considered critical to low-income children and families. For example, the Tax Reform Act made thousands of changes in the federal income tax system, but the substantial tax relief it provided to low-income working families with children was considered to be so important as to outweigh all other issues.

Some of the votes selected concerned issues of legislative process that could nevertheless greatly affect federal programs and services for low-income children and families. These included further votes on the Gramm-Rudman provisions of the budget process, votes on the power of the President to defer appropriated funds, and votes on the rule governing floor debate on the reconciliation legislation. Rule votes are important because legislation cannot be brought up for a vote on the floor of the House of Representatives unless a rule is passed. On occasion, efforts are made to defeat a rule in order to prevent floor consideration of a controversial piece of legislation. Finally, votes are included on specific programs and services for children, adolescents, and families—health care, education, job training, child nutrition, and other programs.

While opinion may differ on the choice of a particular vote, we believe that the overall rating resulting from the ten votes fairly reflects the importance that individual members of Congress place on children and families. Other activities and efforts not reflected in these ratings, however, do indicate a member's commitment to the young and the poor. Providing a strong and effective voice for children throughout the legislative process is essential. Introducing and sponsoring legislation, subcommittee and committee votes and positions, as well as leadership and speeches on the floor provide evidence of such a commitment. Ultimately, however, it is the votes of members that are most crucial.*

CDF especially applauds the six Senators and forty-two Representatives who scored a perfect 100 on our nonpartisan Voting Record for 1986. These members consistently were present and casting votes supportive of children and families throughout the second session of the 99th Congress. Particularly noteworthy are the four Senators and sixteen Representatives who scored 100 in the first session as well. Special mention must also be extended to the entire West Virginia delegation in the House of Representatives for the perfect score recorded for all of its members in 1986.

These staunch congressional advocates for children, joined by an additional eight Senators and seventy-two Representatives who scored 90 provided a strong and effective voice for children and families in the U.S. Congress. Representing almost one-quarter of the membership, they reflect the breadth of support for children and families throughout our country—they are Republicans and Democrats; black, Hispanic, Asian, and white; women and men; young and old; and from states and districts in the North, South, East, and West. Our goal, though, must be to have a majority of the members scoring 90 or more.

We offer our sincere appreciation to each and every member of Congress who consistently has cast his or her vote in support of children and families. We urge citizens around the country to send them the thanks and credit they so rightfully deserve and to encourage them to continue working for children in the 100th Congress. Because of their strong leadership and unyielding

*Members may miss a crucial vote for many reasons, some unavoidable. Nevertheless, a missed vote because of an absence may affect the ultimate outcome and thus is taken into account in this rating. An asterisk is placed beside the name of any member whose rating reflects three or more absences.

dedication, health care was extended to additional low-income children and pregnant women, more disadvantaged children were allowed to participate in Head Start, essential child protective services were provided to children at risk of abuse, effective compensatory education programs were extended to hundreds of thousands more disadvantaged children, and thousands more were immunized against preventable diseases. The efforts of these members on behalf of low-income working families also guaranteed tax relief vital for their economic survival.

We are disappointed, however, that the 99th Congress contained two members of the Senate and fifteen members of House who scored 0, voting against every issue critical to children and families, while another four Senators and twenty Representatives scored only 10. Despite the fact that this is a small group, far fewer in number than in 1985, it is equally important that they hear from home and be urged to recognize the needs of children and families in their future votes.

The 100th Congress began its work in January 1987. Once again many decisions crucial to children and families will be made and important votes will be cast. As the federal budget is again considered, votes will be cast that determine the priority the nation places on investments in children, in adolescents, and in families. And as Congress implements its budget, votes will determine the actual annual funding level for the numerous federal programs and activities affecting them. Such votes may determine, for example, whether the successful Chapter I program for reading and mathematics instruction, which now serves less than half of the eligible children, will provide its vital services to any more of the millions of unserved disadvantaged youngsters needing its help, or whether essential prenatal care will be provided to additional pregnant women, saving precious lives and scarce dollars.

The priority placed on children and families by the members of the 100th Congress depends in large part on frequent and effective communications from every single American concerned about the plight of our children, our families, and our future. Members of Congress must be informed regularly about the needs of our children and families, about the success and effectiveness of various federal efforts to meet those needs, and about the importance of developing children into healthy, educated, and self-sufficient adults, parents, workers, and leaders for the strength and security of our nation's future.

CDF urges all citizens to speak out on behalf of our nation's children and to use CDF's Voting Record and other materials to help convince members of Congress to cast votes in support of federal programs and services vital to their well-being and future. Effective communication with members of Congress requires:

- Regular visits with members in their home offices or in the District of Columbia.
- Frequent letters addressed to your Senators and Representatives in care of:

U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510 or

U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515

- Timely telephone calls to home offices or to District of Columbia offices through the central Capitol Switchboard (202/224-3121).

Senate Votes: Explanation

Education Programs: (S. Con. Res. 120) Vote on amendment to Budget Resolution for FY 1987 as reported by Budget Committee to allow substantially increased funding for education programs. Passed 60-38 on April 23, 1986 (D 40-7, R 20-31). CDF Position: *Pass*.

Health Programs: (S. Con. Res. 120) Vote on motion to table an amendment to Budget Resolution for FY 1987 as reported from Budget Committee to allow increased funding for health programs, including the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC), the Maternal and Child Health Block Grant, the Childhood Immunization program, and Community Health Centers. Motion passed 56-40 on April 24, 1986 (D 13-34, R 43-6). CDF Position: *Reject*.

Job Training: (S. Con. Res. 120) Vote on amendment to Budget Resolution for FY 1987 as reported from Budget Committee to restore funding for the work incentive program (WIN) that provides job training and placement assistance to welfare recipients. Passed 55-40 on April 30, 1986 (D 38-8, R 17-32). CDF Position: *Pass*.

Higher Education: (S. 1965) Vote on amendment to Higher Education Act to reduce level of Pell grants for low-income college students and to make other changes in student aid programs. Passed 60-34 on June 3, 1986 (D 10-32, R 50-2). CDF Position: *Reject*.

Gramm-Rudman Repeal: (H. J. Res. 668) Vote on amendment to bill to increase federal debt limit to repeal the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985. Rejected 30-69 on July 31, 1986 (D 21-26, R 9-43). CDF Position: *Pass*.

Children's Appropriations: (H. R. 5233) Vote on annual Labor, Health, and Human Services Appropriations bill, providing increased funding for many programs for low-income children and families. Passed 83-12 on September 10, 1986 (D 41-3, R 42-9). CDF Position: *Pass*.

Tax Reform Act: (H. R. 3838) Vote on conference report on bill to revise the federal income tax system, including substantial tax relief and assistance to low-income working families with children. Passed 74-23 on September 27, 1986 (D 33-12, R 41-11). CDF Position: *Pass*.

Summer Jobs: (H. J. Res. 738) Vote on motion to waive spending limits set by Gramm-Rudman law in order to increase by \$100 million funding in the FY 1987 Continuing Resolution for the Summer Youth Employment program. Motion rejected 31-67 on October 1, 1986 (D 29-18, R 2-49). CDF Position: *Pass*.

Child Nutrition: (H. J. Res. 738) Vote on germaneness of amendment to the Continuing Resolution to allow inclusion of the reauthorization of child nutrition programs (WIC, School Lunch, School Breakfast, and others) initially contained in H. R. 7. Passed 78-17 on October 2, 1986 (D 41-4, R 37-13). CDF Position: *Pass*.

FY 1987 Reconciliation Legislation: (H. R. 5300) Vote on conference report to reconciliation bill for FY 1987, including among its many provisions improvements in Medicaid program for poor pregnant women and children, and reauthorization of Maternal and Child Health program. Passed 61-25 on October 17, 1986 (D 28-15, R 33-10). CDF Position: *Pass*.

House Votes: Explanation

Health Services: (H. R. 2418) Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to reauthorize Community and Migrant Health Centers through FY 1988. Motion rejected 254-151 for lack of necessary two-thirds vote on February 19, 1986 (D 220-15, R 34-136). CDF Position: *Pass*.

Presidential Deferral Power: (H. R. 4515) Vote on amendment to Supplemental Appropriations bill to delete provision to repeal the President's authority to defer spending funds already appropriated by Congress. Rejected 163-224 on May 8, 1986 (D 20-205, R 143-19). CDF Position: *Reject*.

FY 1987 Budget Resolution: (H. Con. Res. 337) Vote on Budget Resolution for FY 1987, as recommended by Budget Committee and including Children's Initiative spending improvements in selected programs as well as no further budget cuts in other programs for low-income children and families. Passed 245-179 on May 15, 1986 (D 228-19, R 17-160). CDF Position: *Pass*.

Children's Appropriations: (H. R. 5233) Amendment to annual Labor, Health, and Human Services Appropriations bill to set a cap on all FY 1987 funding increases, thus reducing funds for children's programs by more than \$1 billion. Rejected 164-253 on July 31, 1986 (D 27-213, R 137-40). CDF Position: *Reject*.

Gramm-Rudman Fix: (H. R. 5395) Vote on bill to increase national debt limit, and to disagree with provision to restore modified Gramm-Rudman sequestration provision to allow automatic across-the-board budget cuts in federal programs, including many for low-income children and families. Passed 175-133 on August 15, 1986 (D 154-14, R 21-119). CDF Position: *Pass*.

Head Start: (H. R. 4421) Vote on conference report of bill to reauthorize Head Start through FY 1990, as well as to reauthorize other human services programs. Passed 375-27 on September 16, 1986 (D 238-0, R 137-27). CDF Position: *Pass*.

FY 1987 Reconciliation Bill: (H. J. Res. 558) Vote on rule to allow floor consideration of reconciliation bill for FY 1987, including among other provisions Medicaid and AFDC improvements for low-income children and families. Passed 255-157 on September 24, 1986 (D 217-28, R 38-129). CDF Position: *Pass*.

FY 1987 Reconciliation Bill: (H. R. 5300) Vote on reconciliation bill for FY 1987 reported from committees of the House and including Medicaid and AFDC improvements for low-income children and families. Passed 309-106 on September 24, 1986 (D 210-35, R 99-71). CDF Position: *Pass*.

Tax Reform Act: (H. R. 3838) Vote on conference report of bill to revise the federal income tax system, including substantial tax relief and assistance to low-income working families with children. Passed 292-136 on September 25, 1986 (D 176-74, R 116-62). CDF Position: *Pass*.

Continuing Resolution: (H. J. Res. 738) Vote on conference report to Continuing Resolution, appropriating funds for FY 1987 for federal agencies, programs, and services, including those for low-income children, adolescents, and families originally contained in the Labor, Health, and Human Services appropriations bill. Passed 235-172 on October 15, 1986 (D 156-82, R 79-90). CDF Position: *Pass*.

As a public charity, CDF is permitted under the Tax Reform Act of 1976 to spend a small percentage of its budget on legislative activities.

The compilation of these votes was prepared by Legislate, a computerized legislative service, and is based on Legislate's record of the votes.

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CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

SENATE	Education Programs Health Programs Job Training Higher Education Gramm-Rudman Repeal Children's Appropriations Tax Reform Act Summer Jobs Child Nutrition Budget Reconciliation										CDF POSITION:
	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
ALABAMA											
Denton	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	60
Heflin	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	30
ALASKA											
Murkowski	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	?	50
Stevens	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	50
ARIZONA											
DeConcini	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	70
Goldwater*	?	-	?	-	-	-	+	?	?	?	10
ARKANSAS											
Bumpers	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	80
Pryor	+	+	+	?	-	+	?	+	+	-	60
CALIFORNIA											
Cranston	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	-	80
Wilson, P.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	40
COLORADO											
Armstrong	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	10
Hart	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
CONNECTICUT											
Dodd	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	70
Wicker	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	?	70
DELAWARE											
Biden	+	+	+	?	-	+	+	+	+	+	80
Roth, Wm.	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	30
FLORIDA											
Chiles	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	30
Hawkins*	?	?	?	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	50
GEORGIA											
Mattingly	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	40
Nunn	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	30
HAWAII											
Inouye	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	90
Matsunaga	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
IDAHO											
McClure	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	20
Symms*	-	?	-	-	-	?	+	-	+	?	20
ILLINOIS											
Dixon, A.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	80
Simon	+	+	+	+	-	?	+	+	+	+	80
INDIANA											
Lugar	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	30
Quayle	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	30
IOWA											
Grassley	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	50
Harkin	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
KANSAS											
Dole	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	40
Kassebaum	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	40
KENTUCKY											
Ford, W.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
McConnell	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	40

SENATE	Education Programs Health Programs Job Training Higher Education Gramm-Rudman Repeal Children's Appropriations Tax Reform Act Summer Jobs Child Nutrition Budget Reconciliation										CDF POSITION:
	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
LOUISIANA											
Johnston	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	70
Long	-	+	+	+	-	?	+	-	-	+	50
MAINE											
Cohn	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	70
Mitchell, G.	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	70
MARYLAND											
Mathias*	+	?	?	-	+	+	+	-	-	?	40
Sarbanes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MASSACHUSETTS											
Kennedy	+	+	+	?	-	+	+	+	+	+	80
Kerry	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	80
MICHIGAN											
Levin	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	70
Riegle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
MINNESOTA											
Boschwitz	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	40
Durenberger	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	60
MISSISSIPPI											
Cochran	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	30
Stennis*	+	-	?	+	-	+	+	-	?	?	40
MISSOURI											
Danforth	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	40
Eagleton	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
MONTANA											
Baucus	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	70
Melcher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	70
NEBRASKA											
Exon	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	20
Zorinsky	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	20
NEVADA											
Hecht	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	20
Laxalt	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	?	10
NEW HAMPSHIRE											
Humphrey	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	20
Rudman	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	30
NEW JERSEY											
Bradley	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
Lautenberg	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
NEW MEXICO											
Bingaman	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	70
Domenici	-	-	?	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	40
NEW YORK											
D'Amato	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	80
Moynihan	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	80

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CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

SENATE	Education Programs	Health Programs	Job Training	Higher Education	Gramm-Rudman	Repeal	Children's Appropriations	Tax Reform Act	Summer Jobs	Child Nutrition	Budget Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		
NORTH CAROLINA												
Broyhill	0	0	0	0	-	+	+	-	+	?		50
East	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Helms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		0
NORTH DAKOTA												
Andrus	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+		80
Burdick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		100
OHIO												
Glenn	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	-		80
Metzenbaum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-		90
OKLAHOMA												
Boren	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	?		60
Nickles	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-		20
OREGON												
Hatfield	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+		60
Packwood	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+		60
PENNSYLVANIA												
Heinz	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+		60
Specter	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	?		80
RHODE ISLAND												
Chafee	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+		70
Pell	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+		90
SOUTH CAROLINA												
Hollings	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+		50
Thurmond	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+		50
SOUTH DAKOTA												
Aldnor	+	-	-	?	-	+	-	-	+	+		40
Presler	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-		30

SENATE	Education Programs	Health Programs	Job Training	Higher Education	Gramm-Rudman	Repeal	Children's Appropriations	Tax Reform Act	Summer Jobs	Child Nutrition	Budget Reconciliation	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y		
TENNESSEE												
Gore	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		90
Sasser	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+		80
TEXAS												
Bentsen	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+		60
Gramm	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+		20
UTAH												
Garn*	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	?	+		10
Hatch	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-		30
VERMONT												
Leahy	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	?		60
Stafford	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	?	+		60
VIRGINIA												
Triple	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+		40
Warner	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-		20
WASHINGTON												
Ewens	-	?	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	?		30
Gorton	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	?		40
WEST VIRGINIA												
Byrd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		100
Rockefeller	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+		90
WISCONSIN												
Kasten	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-		50
Proxmire	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-		20
WYOMING												
Simpson	-	-	-	-	-	?	+	-	-	+		30
Wallop	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		20

HOUSE	Health Services	Presidential Deferral Power	Budget Resolution	Children's Appropriations	Gramm-Rudman Fix	Head Start	Budget Reconciliation	Tax Reform Act	Continuing Resolution	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
ALABAMA										
1 Callahan	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	20
2 Dickinson	-	-	-	-	?	+	-	-	+	20
3 Nichols	+	?	+	-	?	+	+	-	?	50
4 Beville	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	90
5 Flippo	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	70
6 Erdreich	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	80
7 Shelby	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	70
ALASKA										
1 Young, D.	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	40
ARIZONA										
1 McCain	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	?	50
2 Udall	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	90
3 Stump	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
4 Rudd*	-	?	-	+	?	-	+	-	?	30
5 Kolbe	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	30

HOUSE	Health Services	Presidential Deferral Power	Budget Resolution	Children's Appropriations	Gramm-Rudman Fix	Head Start	Budget Reconciliation	Tax Reform Act	Continuing Resolution	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
ARKANSAS										
1 Alexander	+	?	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	80
2 Robinson	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	40
3 Hammerschmidt	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	20
4 Anthony	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	80
CALIFORNIA										
1 Bosco*	?	?	+	+	?	+	-	+	-	50
2 Chappie*	?	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	-	20

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CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

HOUSE	Health Services Presidential Deferral Power Budget Resolution Children's Appropriations Gramm-Rudman Fix Head Start Budget Reconciliation Tax Reform Act Continuing Resolution % For All Votes										CDF POSITION:
	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
3 Matsui	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
4 Fazio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
5 Burton, S.*	?	+	+	+	?	?	?	?	?	?	30
6 Boxer	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
7 Miller, G.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
8 Dellums	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
9 Stark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
10 Edwards, D.	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	-	80
11 Lantos	?	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	-	80
12 Zachau*	?	-	-	?	?	?	?	?	?	-	20
13 Mineta	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
14 Shumway	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
15 Coelho	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	-	90
16 Panetta	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
17 Pashayan	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	60
18 Lehman, R.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
19 Lagomarsino	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	30
20 Thomas, Wm.	-	-	-	-	?	?	-	-	-	-	0
21 Fidler	-	?	-	-	?	+	-	+	-	-	20
22 Moorhead	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	10
23 Beilenson	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	-	80
24 Waxman	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	-	90
25 Roybal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	100
26 Berman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	100
27 Levine	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	-	90
28 Dixon	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	-	80
29 Hawkins	+	?	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	-	80
30 Martinez	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	-	90
31 Dymally	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	-	70
32 Anderson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
33 Dreier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
34 Torres	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
35 Lewis, J.	-	?	-	-	?	-	+	-	+	-	30
36 Brown, G.	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	-	90
37 McCandless	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	0
38 Dornan	-	?	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	20
39 Dannemeyer	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	0
40 Badham	-	?	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	0
41 Lowery	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	40
42 Lungren	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	+	-	-	10
43 Packard	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	20
44 Bates	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
45 Hunter	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	20
COLORADO											
1 Schroeder	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	-	70
2 Wirth	+	+	+	+	-	?	?	+	+	+	70
3 Strang	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	30
4 Brown, H.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	10
5 Kramer	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	20
6 Schaefer	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	10
CONNECTICUT											
1 Kennelly	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2 Gejdenson	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	-	80
3 Morrison, B.	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	-	80
4 McKinney	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
5 Rowland, J.	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	70
6 Johnson	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	60
DELAWARE											
Carper	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	70
HOUSE	Health Services Presidential Deferral Power Budget Resolution Children's Appropriations Gramm-Rudman Fix Head Start Budget Reconciliation Tax Reform Act Continuing Resolution % For All Votes										CDF POSITION:
	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
FLORIDA											
1 Hutto	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	40
2 Fuqua	+	?	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	80
3 Bennett	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
4 Chappell	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	-	80
5 McCollum	-	-	-	-	?	?	+	+	+	-	30
6 MacKay	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
7 Gibbons	+	?	+	-	?	?	+	+	+	+	70
8 Young, B.*	-	-	-	+	?	?	?	?	+	+	40
9 Bilirakis	?	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	60
10 Ireland	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	30
11 Nelson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
12 Lewis, T.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	30
13 Mack	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	20
14 Mica	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	-	80
15 Shaw	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	30
16 Smith, L.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
17 Lehman, Wm.	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	+	90
18 Pepper	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
19 Fascell	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	90
GEORGIA											
1 Thomas, R.L.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	90
2 Hatcher	+	?	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	80
3 Ray	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	20
4 Swindall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
5 Fowler*	+	-	+	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	40
6 Gingrich	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	20
7 Darden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	70
8 Rowland, R.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
9 Jenkins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
10 Barnard	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	70
HAWAII											
1 Abercrombie	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	-	75
1 Heftel	?	-	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2 Akaka	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
IDAHO											
1 Craig	-	-	-	-	?	?	+	-	-	-	10
2 Stallings	+	-	-	-	?	?	+	+	-	+	40
ILLINOIS											
1 Hayes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
2 Savage	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	-	80
3 Russo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
4 O'Brien	?	?	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	67
5 Lipinski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
6 Hyde	-	-	-	-	?	?	+	-	+	+	30
7 Collins	?	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
8 Rostenkowski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
9 Yates	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	80
10 Porter	-	-	-	-	?	?	+	-	+	-	20
11 Annunzio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
12 Crane	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
13 Fauci	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	20
14 Gribbs*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	0
15 Madigan	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	40
16 Martin, L.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	40
17 Evans, L.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
18 Michel	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	50
19 Bruce	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

HOUSE	Health Services	Presidential Deferral Power	Budget Resolution	Children's Appropriations	Gramm-Rudman Fix	Head Start	Budget Reconciliation	Budget Reconciliation	Tax Reform Act	Continuing Resolution	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
20 Durbin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
21 Price	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	90
22 Gray, K.	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	90
INDIANA											
1 Visclosky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
2 Sharp	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
3 Hiler	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
4 Coats	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	30
5 Hillis	-	-	-	?	?	-	+	+	+	-	40
6 Burton, D.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
7 Myers	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	50
8 McCloskey	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
9 Hamilton	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	70
10 Jacobs	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	50
IOWA											
1 Leach	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	40
2 Tauke	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	20
3 Ewins, C.	-	?	-	-	?	+	-	+	-	-	20
4 Smith, N.	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	80
5 Lightfoot	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	20
6 Bedell	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	-	70
KANSAS											
1 Roberts	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	10
2 Slattery	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	70
3 Meyers	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	40
4 Glickman	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
5 Whittaker	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	40
KENTUCKY											
1 Hubbard	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	30
2 Natcher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 Mazzoli	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
4 Snyder	-	-	-	?	+	-	-	+	+	+	40
5 Rogers	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	50
6 Hopkins	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	20
7 Perkins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
LOUISIANA											
1 Livingston	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	30
2 Boggs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 Tauzin	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	50
4 Roemer	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	50
5 Huckabee	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	60
6 Moore*	-	-	-	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	10
7 Breaux*	+	-	+	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	30
8 Long, C.	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	?	80
MAINE											
1 McKernan	-	-	-	-	?	-	+	+	+	+	30
2 Snodce	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	60
MARYLAND											
1 Dyson	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	70
2 Bentley	?	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	60
3 Mikulski	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	90
4 Holt	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	40
5 Hoyer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
6 Byron	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
7 Mitchell	+	?	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	+	70
8 Barnes	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	-	-	-	50
HOUSE	Health Services	Presidential Deferral Power	Budget Resolution	Children's Appropriations	Gramm-Rudman Fix	Head Start	Budget Reconciliation	Budget Reconciliation	Tax Reform Act	Continuing Resolution	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
MASSACHUSETTS											
1 Confr	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2 Boland*	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	?	+	+	70
3 Early	?	+	+	?	+	-	-	-	+	+	60
4 Frank	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
5 Atkins	+	+	+	?	?	?	?	+	+	-	70
6 Mavroules	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
7 Markey	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
8 O'Neill**	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
9 Moakley	?	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
10 Studds	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
11 Donnelly	+	?	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
MICHIGAN											
1 Conyers*	+	+	+	?	?	+	?	?	-	?	40
2 Purrell	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
3 Wolpe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4 Siljander	?	-	-	?	+	-	-	+	-	-	20
5 Henry	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	30
6 Carr	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	70
7 Kildee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
8 Traxler	+	?	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	70
9 Vander Jagt	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	30
10 Schutte	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	40
11 Davis	+	-	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
12 Bonior	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
13 Crockett	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
14 Hertel	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	-	70
15 Ford, Wm.	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
16 Dingell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
17 Levin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
18 Broomfield*	+	-	-	-	?	+	?	?	+	-	30
MINNESOTA											
1 Penny	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	60
2 Weber	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	40
3 Frenzel	-	-	-	-	?	?	-	-	-	-	0
4 Vento	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
5 Sabo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
6 Sikorski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
7 Strangeland	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	50
8 Oberstar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MISSISSIPPI											
1 Whitten	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	80
2 Franklin*	-	?	?	-	?	?	?	+	+	-	30
3 Montgomery	-	+	+	-	?	+	+	+	+	+	60
4 Dowdy	+	?	+	?	?	+	+	+	+	+	70
5 Lott	-	-	-	-	?	-	+	+	+	+	40
MISSOURI											
1 Clay	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	-	70
2 Young, R.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 Gephardt	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
4 Skelton	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
5 Wheat	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
6 Coleman, T.	-	-	-	-	?	+	-	+	-	+	30
7 Taylor	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	40
8 Emerson	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	50
9 Volkmer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
MONTANA											
1 Williams	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	+	80

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

HOUSE	Health Services	Presidential Deferral Power	Budget Resolution	Children's Appropriations	Gramm-Rudman Fix	Head Start	Budget Reconciliation	Budget Reconciliation	Tax Reform Act	Continuing Resolution	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
2 Marien	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	10
NEBRASKA											
1 Bernier	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	40
2 Daub	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	40
3 Smith, V.	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	50
NEVADA											
1 Reid	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
2 Vucanovich	?	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	10
NEW HAMPSHIRE											
1 Smith, R.C.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	10
2 Gregg	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	10
NEW JERSEY											
1 Florio	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	80
2 Hughes	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	70
3 Howard	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	90
4 Smith C.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
5 Roukema	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	40
6 Dwyer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
7 Rinaldo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	90
8 Roe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
9 Torricelli	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
10 Rodino	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	80
11 Gallo	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	50
12 Courter	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	50
13 Saxton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	40
14 Guarini	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
NEW MEXICO											
1 Lujan*	-	?	?	-	?	+	+	+	+	-	40
2 Starn	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	50
3 Richardson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
NEW YORK											
1 Carney*	-	-	-	?	-	?	-	?	-	-	0
2 Downey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 Mrazek	+	+	-	-	?	+	+	+	-	+	70
4 Lent	+	?	-	-	?	+	+	+	-	+	50
5 McGrath	+	?	-	-	?	+	+	+	+	+	60
6 Addabbo	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
6 Waldon	0	0	0	?	+	+	+	+	-	+	71
7 Ackerman	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	-	+	80
8 Scheuer	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	80
9 Manton	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	?	-	+	70
10 Schumer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
11 Towns	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	80
12 Owens	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	80
13 Solarz	+	+	-	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	80
14 Molinari	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	30
15 Gren	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	60
16 Rangel	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
17 Weiss	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	?	80
18 Garcia	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	80
19 Biaggi*	+	+	?	+	?	?	?	+	+	+	70
20 DiGiardi	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	50
21 Fish	-	-	-	-	?	+	+	+	+	+	60
22 Gilman	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	80
23 Stratton	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
24 Solomon	-	?	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	30
25 Boehlert	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	60

HOUSE	Health Services	Presidential Deferral Power	Budget Resolution	Children's Appropriations	Gramm-Rudman Fix	Head Start	Budget Reconciliation	Budget Reconciliation	Tax Reform Act	Continuing Resolution	% For All Votes
CDF POSITION:	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
26 Martin, D.	+	-	-	-	?	+	-	+	+	+	40
27 Worley	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	40
28 McHugh	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	90
29 Horton	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	80
30 Eckert, F.	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	+	+	-	30
31 Kemp	-	-	-	-	?	?	-	-	+	+	20
32 LaFalce	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	80
33 Nowak	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
34 Lundine*	?	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	?	70
NORTH CAROLINA											
1 Jones, W.	+	?	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	80
2 Valentine	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	90
3 Whitley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
4 Colby	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	30
5 Neal	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
6 Coble	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	40
7 Rose	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	90
8 Hefner	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	90
9 McMillan	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	50
10 Broyhill	+	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	33
11 Hendon	-	-	?	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	50
NORTH DAKOTA											
1 Dorgan	+	-	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	70
OHIO											
1 Luken	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	90
2 Gradison	-	-	-	-	?	+	-	-	+	-	20
3 Hall, T.	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	80
4 Oxley	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	+	?	20
5 Latta	?	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	?	?	40
6 McEwen*	-	?	-	-	-	+	-	?	?	?	20
7 DeWine	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	30
8 Kindness*	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	-	?	0
9 Kaptur	?	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	70
10 Miller, C.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	30
11 Eckart, D.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
12 Kasich	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	30
13 Pease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
14 Seiberling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
15 Wylie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	50
16 Regula	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	30
17 Traficant	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	80
18 Applegate	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	70
19 Feighan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
20 Oaker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
21 Stokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	90
OKLAHOMA											
1 Jones, J.	-	-	+	-	?	+	-	-	-	?	20
2 Synar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
3 Watkins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	80
4 McCurdy	+	+	-	-	?	+	+	+	+	+	60
5 Edwards, M.	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	30
6 English	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	40
OREGON											
1 AuCoin	?	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	80
2 Smith, R.F.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	30
3 Wyden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4 Weaver	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	70
5 Smith, D.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

HOUSE	Health Services Presidential Deferral Power Budget Resolution Children's Appropriations Gramm-Rudman Fix Head Start Budget Reconciliation Tax Reform Act Continuing Resolution % For All Votes										CDF POSITION:
	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	
PENNSYLVANIA											
1 Foglietta	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	80
2 Gray, Wm.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	90
3 Borski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4 Kolter	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
5 Schulz	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	20
6 Yatron	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
7 Edgar	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	80
8 Kostmayer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
9 Shuster	-	-	-	-	?	+	+	+	-	-	30
10 McDade	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	80
11 Kanjorski	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
12 Murtha	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
13 Coughlin	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	70
14 Coyne	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	90
15 Ritter	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	40
16 Walker	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	20
17 Gekas	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
18 Walgren	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	90
19 Goodling	-	-	?	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	40
20 Gaydos	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
21 Ridge	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	30
22 Murphy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
23 Clinger	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	60
RHODE ISLAND											
1 St. Germain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	90
2 Schneider	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	70
SOUTH CAROLINA											
1 Hartnett*	-	?	-	-	?	?	?	-	-	?	0
2 Spence	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	30
3 Derrick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4 Campbell*	-	?	-	+	?	?	?	?	?	?	20
5 Spratt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
6 Tallon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
SOUTH DAKOTA											
1 Daschle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
TENNESSEE											
1 Quillen	+	?	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	60
2 Duncan	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	40
3 Lloyd	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	50
4 Cooper	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
5 Boner	+	+	-	?	?	+	+	+	+	+	70
6 Gordon	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	80
7 Sundquist	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	30
8 Jones, E.	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
9 Ford, H.	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	90
TEXAS											
1 Chapman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	90
2 Wilson	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	90
3 Bertlett	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	20
4 Hall, R.	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	30
5 Bryant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	90
6 Barton	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	20
7 Archer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
8 Fields	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	+	-	-	10
9 Brooks	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	70
10 Pickle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	60
11 Leath	-	?	+	+	?	+	-	+	-	+	50
12 Wright	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	70
13 Boulter	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	40
UTAH											
1 Hansen	-	-	-	-	?	+	-	-	-	?	10
2 Monsen	-	?	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	0
3 Nielson	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
VERMONT											
1 Jeffords	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	90
VIRGINIA											
1 Baierman	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	40
2 Whitehurst	-	?	-	-	?	+	-	+	-	+	30
3 Billey	-	-	+	-	-	?	+	+	+	+	50
4 Sisisky	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	-	+	80
5 Daniel	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	50
6 Olin	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	70
7 Slaughter	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	40
8 Parris	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	40
9 Boucher	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	-	+	80
10 Wolf	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	60
WASHINGTON											
1 Miller, J.	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	60
2 Swift	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	70
3 Bonker*	?	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	-	+	60
4 Morrison, S.	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	80
5 Foley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
6 Dicks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
7 Lowry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	80
8 Chandler	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	40
WEST VIRGINIA											
1 Mollohan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
2 Staggers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
3 Wise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
4 Rahall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
WISCONSIN											
1 Aspin	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	90
2 Kastenmeier	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	80
3 Gunderson	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	40
4 Kleczka	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	-	80
5 Moody	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	90
6 Petri	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	20
7 Obey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100
8 Rath	?	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	30
9 Sensenbrenner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	10
WYOMING											
1 Chmura	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	20

4. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Health

Preventive care during all stages of a child's life pays off in improved health as well as in financial savings to society.

- Comprehensive prenatal care is highly effective in reducing the incidence of prematurity and low birthweight among babies. For every hour that high-quality prenatal services postpone the birth of a premature infant, our society can save \$100. Every dollar spent to provide prenatal care saves more than \$3 in the first year of an infant's life alone by reducing the need for expensive hospital stays among babies.
- Children who receive comprehensive pediatric care, including preventive services, have been shown to have annual health care costs nearly 10 percent lower than children who do not receive such care.

Teenagers need comprehensive medical care not just to maintain their overall health but to ensure their reproductive health.

- Sexually active adolescents ages fifteen through nineteen suffer the highest overall rates of sexually transmitted diseases among Americans.
- To date, slightly more than 100 cases of AIDS have been diagnosed among thirteen- to nineteen-year-olds. In addition, because AIDS symptoms do not appear immediately, many of those in their early twenties who have AIDS probably contracted the disease as teenagers. Indications are that in some areas of the country as many as eight out of every 1,000 young adults are testing positively for the virus.
- Each year 1.1 million American teens become pregnant—one of every eleven women age fifteen through nineteen and one of every four sexually active young women.
- Access to preventive health education promotes more mature decision-making by teens about maintaining their own health and making responsible choices about sexual activity. Further, for teens who do choose to be sexually active, comprehensive family planning services play a crucial role in reducing pregnancy rates, rates of sexually transmitted diseases (if barrier methods of contraception are used), and rates of infant mortality.

Millions of families—especially lower-income working families and unemployed families—have difficulty getting access to necessary medical care because they are covered by neither private nor public insurance. Others are insured for only a portion of each year.

- Our nation's employer-sponsored health insurance system never has worked well for millions of low- and moderate-income families. Thirty percent of all employers who pay the minimum wage to more than half their work force offer no health insurance.
- One-third of employers reported in a recent nationwide survey that they had reduced contributions to their workers' (or their workers' dependents') annual insurance premiums, thus increasing the workers' share of premiums. This makes it more difficult for workers earning lower wages to continue insuring either themselves or their dependents.
- Particularly in the 1981-1984 period, cuts in federal funds and changes in Medicaid program rules led many states to reduce the number of publicly insured poor persons. As a result, in FY 1985 Medicaid served 10.9 million children younger than twenty-one—more than 400,000 fewer than had been served in FY 1978. The decrease occurred even though the number of children in poverty rose from 9.7 million to 12.5 million in the same period.
- Between 1979 and 1984 the number of completely uninsured Americans grew from 26.2 million to 35 million—a one-third increase in just five years.
- Of all age groups, children are most affected by weaknesses in the public and private insurance systems. In 1984 children made up 25 percent of all Americans younger than sixty-five, but one-third of America's 35 million uninsured persons.

Federal public health service programs combined with Medicaid and some public health efforts funded wholly with state and local revenues have been remarkably effective in the past two decades, particularly given their inadequate funding levels.

- In 1963, prior to the creation in 1965 of programs such as Medicaid and Community Health Centers and the expansion beginning in 1963 of maternal and child health services under Title V, only 63 percent of pregnant women in America began prenatal care during the first trimester of pregnancy. By 1979 that figure had grown to 76 percent.
- Between 1964 and 1975, poor children increased their use of physician services by 74 percent, so that by the late 1970s, publicly insured low-income children were visiting physicians nearly as frequently as other children.
- Through the immunization program we virtually have eradicated such fatal and crippling diseases as diphtheria, pertussis, congenital rubella, smallpox, and polio. Our nation has achieved a 99 percent reduction of these infectious diseases that previously led to suffering, permanent damage, and death.
- While overall infant mortality fell only 15 percent from 1950 to 1965, it fell 49 percent between 1965 and 1980. The death rate among black infants dropped 5 percent in the fifteen years before Medicaid was passed but more than 50 percent in the decade and a half that followed.

After the progress of the 1960s and 1970s, the widespread disinsurance of children and the erosion of public health programs in the 1980s, along with high levels of child poverty, have been accompanied by a virtual standstill in the nation's progress on key maternal and child health indicators. This stagnation means that the nation will not meet most of the maternal and infant health goals for 1990 set by the Surgeon General of the United States in 1979.

- The Surgeon General's objective for infant mortality is not likely to be met and the goal for racial and ethnic subgroups will not be met for blacks.
- The nation will not meet the Surgeon General's overall objective for low-birthweight births and will not meet the goal for black infants.
- The nation will not meet the Surgeon General's objective on early prenatal care for pregnant women.

The United States' international ranking on infant mortality among twenty industrialized nations with comparable vital statistics reporting systems has deteriorated dramatically: from a sixth place ranking between 1950 and 1955 to a tie for last place in the 1980-1985 period.

The human and financial cost of this stagnation is staggering.

- The black infant mortality rate is almost twice the white rate. If the black rate had been reduced as low as the white rate, 5,309 more black babies would have lived in 1984.
- Our nation's failure to meet the Surgeon General's 1990 goals means we will experience 300,000 more low-birthweight births between 1978 and 1990 than would have occurred had the goals been met.

Nevertheless, the Administration calls for further cuts and freezes in key public health programs in FY 1988:

- The Administration proposes to cut Medicaid spending by \$1.3 billion in FY 1988 (and by a total of \$20.2 billion in the five years through FY 1992) by placing a ceiling on federal Medicaid outlays. No adjustments would be made for growth in the number of eligible persons or an increased level of services.
- The Administration proposes to freeze appropriations for the Title V Maternal and Child Health Block Grant, Community Health Centers, and Migrant Health Centers at FY 1987 levels.
- The President's budget proposes to increase funding for the immunization grant program in FY 1988 by only \$6 million over the FY 1987 funding level of \$75 million, an increase unlikely to match the increase in vaccine costs.
- The Administration proposes transforming the Title X Family Planning Program into a block grant and reducing funding by \$2 million.
- The Administration's request of only \$1.7 billion for the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) in FY 1988 is below FY 1987 levels and will result in 50,000 fewer women, infants, and children receiving the program's benefits each month.

CDF recommends that, by 1992 at the latest:

- Funding for WIC should be stepped up each year so that no woman or child who is eligible for this supplemental nutrition assistance will go without these benefits.

- All families should have access to affordable, adequate health insurance. As a first step, CDF's Legislative Agenda would permit states beginning in FY 1988 to extend Medicaid to all members of families and all individuals living below the federal poverty level, rather than only young children and pregnant women.
- There should be sufficient funding increases to permit development of health centers and Title V Maternal and Child Health projects in all underserved areas.
- All children should be immunized adequately against all preventable childhood diseases. CDF's Legislative Agenda recommends prompt implementation of the national Childhood Vaccine Injury Act in order to better control the price of vaccines, as well as conversion (over the next five years) of the childhood immunization program into an entitlement program.

Family Income

In 1985 more than 12 million children—more than one out of every five children—lived in families with incomes below the poverty line, up from fewer than 10 million in 1979. The child poverty rate is higher than at any time since the early 1960s. The average poor family today is dropping further and further beneath the level of income that federal poverty guidelines say poor families need to subsist.

- More than 40 percent of poor children in 1984 and 1985 lived in families whose incomes were less than half of the poverty line, up from 34.9 percent in 1979.

Several major factors have been pushing more and more children and families into poverty:

- Unemployment continues at historically high levels for a period that is more than three years into an "economic recovery." Roughly 8 million Americans are still unemployed. Another 5.6 million Americans (up from 3.5 million in 1979) are forced to work part-time because they cannot find full-time jobs, and 1.1 million are not counted as unemployed but aren't working and have stopped looking for work because job prospects are too bleak.
- For more and more families, a paycheck is not enough to stay out of poverty. The number of working-age people who worked but remained poor was 9.1 million in 1985—an increase of 40 percent since 1979. One major reason for this increase is that the minimum wage has not kept pace with inflation. Another is that larger numbers of hourly workers have low-wage jobs that do not produce enough income to lift their families out of poverty. Since 1979 more than half of all jobs added to the economy paid less than \$7,000 per year (in 1984 dollars). More than 10.6 million hourly workers earned less than \$4 per hour in 1985, leaving them unable to lift a spouse and only one child above the poverty line even through full-time, year-round work.
- One in every five American children now lives in a female-headed household. Children living in female-headed families in 1985 were more than four times as likely to be poor as those living in other families.

- Since 1981 the Reagan Administration systematically has tried to dismantle federal programs for the poor. Few programs have been eliminated, but the effects of the \$10 billion annual cut from national survival programs for poor families and children, passed in 1981, continue. Thirty percent of the increase in poverty among families with children since 1979 is due to the declining help government programs give in removing families from poverty.
- Plummeting real incomes have reduced sharply the number of young men earning enough to support even a small family. Only 48 percent of white men and 27 percent of black men between ages twenty and twenty-four earned enough to support a wife and one child above poverty in 1984, compared to 64 percent of white males and 57 percent of black males in this age group in 1973.
- Fewer workers today qualify for Unemployment Insurance benefits when they lose their jobs. In December 1986 only 35 percent of all unemployed workers received such benefits. In contrast, more than two-thirds of all unemployed persons obtained this assistance in May 1975.
- Another potential supplemental source of income for single-parent families—child support—helps less than it should. As of 1983, the last year for which full data are available, only 76 percent of all families that were supposed to receive support received any payments at all. Of those with court-ordered payments (as opposed to voluntary agreements), only 40 percent received the full amount due; 32 percent received zero.

Poor families must turn to our nation's system of publicly financed assistance to the poor. But that system is inadequate and inequitable.

- The largest cash assistance program for the poor is Aid to Families with Dependent Children—AFDC. It now serves 3.7 million poor families. In 1985 federal spending for AFDC represented less than 1 percent of total federal government expenditures. Whereas in 1979 seventy-six children for every 100 poor children in the country were receiving AFDC, in 1985 the number was only 57.7.
- Benefit levels are increasingly inadequate because almost no state has adjusted them to keep up with inflation during the 1970s and 1980s. The level of real AFDC monthly benefits fell by 33 percent in the median state between July 1970 and January 1985. Even AFDC and food stamps together generally leave poor families well below the poverty line. In 1986 help provided by these two programs to an AFDC family of three was less than three-fourths of the federal poverty line in forty-one states—nearly double the number (twenty-one) in 1981. Many Americans spend more on cars each month (the average monthly installment payment for a new car purchased in 1985 was \$274.56) than states spend for cash assistance to each poor child (the average monthly AFDC benefit per person was \$117.70 in August 1985).
- In twenty-five states, children in two-parent families cannot qualify for AFDC (unless one parent is incapacitated), regardless of how poor they are.
- Other groups that need AFDC help—including older teenagers in school and (during the first five months of pregnancy) women who are pregnant for the first time—have been ineligible for assistance since 1981.

AFDC programs fall short in another key area: enabling poor families to overcome barriers to the parents' employment and the families' eventual self-sufficiency. This is not because parents on AFDC do not want to work.

- History refutes the popular contention that welfare recipients have to be forced to work. For example, 1980 census data indicated that 45 percent of the families who reported receiving AFDC that year also reported being employed during the year.
- In the vast majority of states, programs to help AFDC recipients find work have been hampered by inadequate resources and a narrow, short-sighted focus. In contrast, one state that has mounted a more long-term, comprehensive effort—Massachusetts—has had promising results: the number of families on AFDC has fallen from 88,500 in October 1983 to 83,000 in July 1986, a level well below the 96,000 families which is the state's projection of what the caseload would have been without its employment and training program.
- Most welfare-to-work programs do not help remove the many obstacles facing most AFDC recipients in seeking employment. Three-fifths of all adults on AFDC have not graduated from high school, and at least one in four has no prior work experience, according to 1979 data. In 1983, 61 percent of all AFDC parents had children younger than six, and 38 percent had children younger than three. These adults cannot enter the labor force without help in meeting their child care needs. Current AFDC rules also give recipients little financial incentive to seek low-wage employment: any earnings reduce a recipient's AFDC benefit virtually dollar-for-dollar.

The plight of many low-income families will be worsened by the Administration's FY 1988 proposals.

- The President proposes to eliminate the Work Incentive program (WIN) and replace it with a program that puts less focus on training and long-term job placements. The Administration budgets only \$110 million for this work program in FY 1988 (half the amount appropriated for WIN in FY 1986).
- The Administration proposes once again to deny benefits to various groups of current AFDC recipients, cutting a total of \$106 million by: excluding the needs of the parent or other caretaker relative in figuring a family's AFDC grant when the youngest child reaches sixteen; and denying assistance to single minor parents who do not live with their parents. (This would hurt not only minor mothers living in their own apartments but also those living with other extended family members or in special foster homes or other supportive living arrangements.)
- The President proposes for FY 1988 to slash the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) by 32 percent and to eliminate totally the federally funded Weatherization Assistance Program (WAP).
- The President proposes to reduce the federal support available to help states increase child support enforcement activities.

A long-term agenda to help poor children and families must address the root causes of poverty: insufficient opportunities for parents to work or to work full time, wage levels that are inadequate to support even small families, and a welfare system that rarely meets the most basic subsistence needs of poor

families or provides parents with the basic skills and supports to become self-sufficient. CDF's Legislative Agenda would:

- Increase the minimum wage immediately to \$3.95 an hour. The minimum wage should then be increased in subsequent years until it equals the 1979 value in inflation-adjusted dollars, and should be adjusted for inflation thereafter.
- Require that by October 1991 all states would provide combined AFDC and food stamp benefits at least equal to 75 percent of the federal poverty level, with subsequent increases to 100 percent.
- Restructure the AFDC program to reward parents who work. To this end: the earned income disregard would be expanded; provisions for child care and work expenses would be improved; and the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), designed to exempt earners of very low wages from payroll taxes, would be disregarded when computing AFDC and food stamp eligibility and benefit levels.
- Expand resources to states to establish comprehensive education, training, and employment programs so they can serve the many AFDC participants who would volunteer to receive these services in order to improve their employment prospects.
- Recognize the unique needs of teens, including the need to complete their schooling, and their special needs for counseling and training services. Three preventive demonstration programs would be created, using the case management model, designed to offer a range of health, education, employment preparation, recreation, and family planning services to teens in AFDC families who are not yet pregnant or parents.
- Require all states to provide AFDC to two-parent families that are in need due to unemployment, and ease current restrictions on this program.

Homelessness and Housing

Estimates of the total number of homeless people nationwide vary tremendously—ranging up to 3 million. Although experts disagree on the number, there is almost universal agreement that it is rising and that families account for the fastest growing segment. The U.S. Conference of Mayors found that virtually all of the cities it surveyed reported an increase—averaging 20 percent—in demand for emergency shelter during 1986.

- Fully 92 percent of the cities surveyed reported an increase in the number of homeless families with children seeking shelter. Members of families with children now represent an estimated 28 percent of the homeless population nationwide, and much more in some areas.
- In New York City, 76 percent of the homeless are in families with children. There are more homeless children than single homeless adults.

A large group of families now lives on the precarious edge of homelessness because of increased poverty, decreased housing supply, and reduced federal help.

- The number of low-income households paying more than one-half of their incomes for rent and utilities rose from 3.7 million to 6.3 million (or nearly one-half of all low-income households) between 1975 and 1983.
- Between 1970 and 1980 the median rent rose 120 percent, but renters' median incomes rose only 66 percent. As a result, many working families are now among the homeless. Chicago, Charleston, Kansas City, Seattle, and Yonkers estimate that 30 percent of their homeless population is employed.
- According to a study conducted by the Low Income Housing Information Service, more than 8 million low-income renters were in the market for the 4.2 million units renting at affordable prices in 1985. This gap—4 million units—is 120 percent larger than it was in 1980.

Low-income families have been hard hit by a 60 percent drop since 1981 in federally assisted housing funds targeted to help the poor and near-poor. In September 1985 only 4 million of the 35 million potentially eligible households received any federal housing assistance.

Just as the federal government has done less and less to prevent homelessness through helping the poor meet their needs for housing, it has done little to address the inevitable consequence: growing homelessness.

- The Administration consistently has tried to eliminate or reduce the main federal programs used by states and localities to help the homeless—the Community Development Block Grant program (CDBG), General Revenue Sharing, and the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP). The CDBG program's budget has been cut. General Revenue Sharing was eliminated. The Administration repeatedly has targeted for elimination both TEFAP and the Emergency Food and Shelter Program, but Congress consistently has defended and funded both programs.

Attempting to cope with the crisis, state and local governments, along with the private nonprofit sector, have poured millions of dollars and countless hours into services for homeless children and families. But these programs cannot begin to meet the need.

- Virtually every major city reports that on any given night it has fewer shelter beds than homeless people. The ratio of homeless people to beds exceeded two to one in fifteen of the twenty-five cities included in the 1985 U.S. Conference of Mayors survey.
- Shelters in 72 percent of the cities surveyed by the U.S. Conference of Mayors are forced to turn people away because there is no room. In Louisville, for every family that finds space in a shelter, two are turned away.

President Reagan's FY 1988 proposed budget will do little more to address the problem of homelessness than put a bandaid on the gaping wound.

- Total budget authority for assisted housing would fall from \$9.5 billion in FY 1986 to an estimated \$7.8 billion in FY 1987 and to only \$3.9 billion in FY 1988. The proposed cuts, on top of housing cuts made since FY 1978, would mean losses of assisted housing units totaling 70 percent (or a reduction from 338,000 to 102,000) between FY 1978 and FY 1988, according to the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

- The President's budget also would rescind \$375 million of the \$3 billion appropriated in FY 1987 for the CDBG program, which funds a range of state and local development and rehabilitation projects, and would cut FY 1988 funding to \$2.5 billion.

President Reagan's budget also would reduce efforts to cope with the impact of homelessness.

- It has proposed to eliminate the \$50 million funding for TEFAP, which provides crucial services to homeless persons. It is not only slated for elimination in FY 1988, but would be cut in half in FY 1987 through rescissions in appropriations already made.

To prevent homelessness and ensure assistance to families that do become homeless, we must both ensure an adequate supply of decent and affordable low-income housing and ensure emergency services and supports such as shelter, housing assistance, counseling, job training, food, and health care for families that do become homeless.

Food Assistance

Children cannot survive, thrive, and develop without adequate food and nutrition. But recent data show that a growing number of America's poorest families and their children are forced to forgo the most basic necessity of life: adequate food. After a decade of progress in reducing hunger and malnutrition in America, these problems have reemerged in the 1980s.

- The Physician Task Force on Hunger in America estimated in 1985 that about 20 million Americans experience hunger at some point each month, and that malnutrition affects almost 500,000 American children.
- In December 1986 the U.S. Conference of Mayors released the results of a survey finding that requests for emergency food assistance increased in 1986 by an average of 25 percent in twenty-two of twenty-five major U.S. cities surveyed.
- A study based on an examination of medical records at Cook County Hospital in Chicago found that between the summer of 1981 and the summer of 1983 the number of children admitted for failure to thrive, diarrhea, or dehydration (all conditions frequently linked to inadequate nutrition) increased by 24 percent.

Our nation knows how to solve the problem of hunger and has done so before. During the decade between the end of the 1960s and the late 1970s, government programs to feed the needy, including food stamps, school lunch and breakfast programs, and WIC, significantly alleviated hunger and malnutrition in the United States.

- Surveys by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) show that between 1965 and 1977-1978 the nutritional gap between low-income Americans and the rest of the population narrowed significantly. This is precisely the period when federal food programs—and particularly the food stamp program—were created or expanded.
- The WIC program has been found to have a major impact on reducing the incidence of low-birthweight births. Researchers also have found direct links between WIC and a reduction in late fetal deaths, decreases

in the rate of premature births, increases in the proportion of poor pregnant women seeking prenatal care, increased head circumference of infants born to women receiving WIC during pregnancy, and improved diets for women, infants, and children.

While these programs never have reached all those who need them, they have lost further ground due to substantial cutbacks during the Reagan Administration's tenure. As a result, today large numbers of needy persons are either unserved by these programs at all or are receiving inadequate benefits.

- Funding for food stamps was cut \$6.8 billion from FY 1982 through FY 1985, including \$1.9 billion in FY 1985 alone. The food stamp cuts pushed several hundred thousand recipients off the program. About 18 million other recipients saw the purchasing power of their benefits reduced. Food stamps are failing to reach millions of poor Americans, or roughly one-third of those who are eligible.
- Today, those who need the food stamp program's help are less likely to get it than they were in 1980. Between 1980 and 1985, the number of persons below the poverty line jumped from 29.3 million to 33.1 million. But food stamp participation was no higher in 1985 than it had been in 1980, averaging 19.8 million persons in both years. As a result, the number of people receiving food stamps for every 100 persons below the poverty line fell from sixty-eight in 1980 to sixty in 1985.
- Even among those who do receive food stamp benefits, many still are unable to meet their nutritional needs. Food stamp benefits are based on the cost of the "thrifty food plan," USDA's least expensive, bare-bones food plan. USDA's own studies have shown that five of every six families whose food expenditures equal only the cost of the thrifty food plan fail to obtain the Recommended Daily Allowances for basic nutrients.
- The four basic child nutrition programs—the school lunch, school breakfast, child care food, and summer food programs—were reduced by 29 percent from FY 1982 through FY 1985. Funding for these programs was cut by more than \$5 billion during this four-year period. As a result of the deep reductions in child nutrition programs, the number of children receiving school lunches each day fell by about 2 million, after adjusting for changes in school enrollment. The number of low-income children receiving free or reduced-price lunches dropped by close to 700,000. Nearly \$130 million per year was cut from federal support for meals served to children in day care centers and homes.
- While it has not been cut during the Reagan years, WIC still helps only a minority of the eligible low-income infants, young children, and pregnant and nursing women at nutritional risk.

The Administration's new budget for FY 1988 contains an array of proposed new reductions that would cut a total of more than \$1 billion a year from food assistance programs:

- The President proposes cutting food stamp benefits for most poor households that receive low-income energy assistance to help them pay their heating bills. Most households' food stamps would be cut \$3 for every \$10 they receive in energy assistance. USDA estimates this would reduce food stamp benefits by \$57 million per year. Congress explicitly has forbidden USDA to reduce food stamp benefits when low-income households get energy assistance.

- With regard to child nutrition, the President proposes terminating all federal support for partially subsidized school lunches and breakfasts (as well as meals in day care centers and homes) that are served to children from families with incomes of more than 185 percent of the poverty line (more than \$20,350 for a family of four). This almost certainly would result in thousands of schools dropping out of the school lunch program, and a tighter squeeze on the operating budgets of many day care centers.
- The President proposes setting funding for the WIC program in FY 1988 at a level that would provide program benefits to 50,000 fewer women, infants, and children than currently are being served. From 1989 to 1992, the budget envisions that funding for WIC would fall still further behind need, eventually serving some 200,000 fewer persons each month than are served today. The budget also proposes a 20 percent cut in funding in the Commodity Supplemental Food Program (CSFP), a program similar to WIC.
- The Administration's budget threatens particularly severe cuts in TEFAP, which provides U.S. government surplus food to local government agencies, food banks, food pantries, soup kitchens, and other charities. The budget would terminate all funding to help cover the costs of getting the food to the needy.

Congress should take several immediate steps to deal with hunger in our nation.

- It should raise the appropriations levels for the WIC and CSFP programs so that more eligible low-income women, infants, and children can be served. A multi-year effort to ensure that by the early 1990s all eligible women and children receive WIC benefits means that an FY 1988 appropriation increase of at least \$200 million is needed.
- Other necessary steps are to base food stamp benefit levels on the current cost of USDA's thrifty food plan, rather than on the cost of the plan for a period in the past; to reinstate the food stamp outreach program to inform low-income persons about their potential eligibility; to incorporate into the food stamp program a provision under which the first \$50 of monthly income from child support is disregarded in computing benefits; and to increase the food stamp assets limits to the levels recommended in 1984 by the President's Task Force on Food Assistance.

We must also mount a long-term and major national effort that will improve wages, income maintenance programs, and the food stamp program, and reduce unemployment, so that families will better be able to meet their subsistence needs, including the fundamental human right to adequate food.

Education

The public school system is failing to educate many children, especially those from economically disadvantaged backgrounds.

- Every year approximately 700,000 students at the ninth grade level or above drop out. The dropout problem disproportionately afflicts the poor. Regardless of their race, youths from poor families are three to four times more likely to drop out than those from more affluent

households. The lack of a diploma, often compounded by one or more other problems, means that youths who drop out of school experience many disadvantages later. They are less likely than graduates to have a job: in 1985 only 76 percent of men and 44 percent of women twenty-five to sixty-four years old without high school diplomas were working, while 90 percent of men and 63 percent of women with high school diplomas were working.

- Recent years have seen some narrowing of the gap between the achievement test scores of minority and non-minority students (in large part representing a gap between poor and non-poor students, as minorities are disproportionately poor). However, the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) reports that the average black student's mathematics score, which was one-third below the non-minority average in 1972, was still one-fourth below this average in 1981.

All too often early hindrances to a poor child's development are compounded by a public school experience that is generally inferior to the public school education that more well-off peers receive. Because of interstate and district variations in spending, some schools have far fewer resources than others.

The federal commitment to providing extra help to meet the specific educational needs of disadvantaged children has produced some promising results.

- The best overall measure of the impact of these programs over recent decades—the achievement trends for nine- to thirteen-year-old black children marked by the NAEP during the 1970s—shows they gained ground in math and reading achievement while other youths' skills remained at a standstill.
- Chapter I, which helps support remedial education programs, usually in elementary schools, has helped raise academic achievement levels of students receiving its services. The Sustaining Effects Study, commissioned by the U.S. Department of Education, found that Chapter I students did better than a control group of students in math and in reading. Moreover, by helping poor children keep up in school, Chapter I saves the cost of grade repetition, which is more than four times as high as that of Chapter I services.
- Numerous studies show that providing special education and related services to handicapped children before they enter elementary school helps children with their later learning and thus reduces the need for subsequent and costly services. One study estimates that the return on the initial investment in two years of preschool is three and one-half times the cost.
- Participants in bilingual education programs consistently make measurable gains compared to students who do not receive any support services based on their language needs.
- Federal student aid programs and supportive services for poor and minority students have enabled many to attend college and to stay in college longer. Black students who receive financial aid are twice as likely as those who do not to stay in four-year colleges until completion.

Under the Reagan Administration, the federal government's crucial role in enhancing the educational opportunity of all of these groups has diminished, due to funding cutbacks in most programs and the exacerbating erosion caused by inflation.

- Chapter I served only fifty-four students for every 100 poor school-aged children in 1985; in 1980 this ratio was seventy-five per 100.
- Federal support for college education for disadvantaged students has failed to keep pace with skyrocketing tuition costs. Partially as a result, enrollment rates among youths with annual family incomes of less than \$10,000 dropped by 16.8 percent from 1979 to 1982, while those of youths with family incomes of less than \$20,000 fell 8.6 percent. Enrollment increased among students from wealthier families during the same period. In 1977, 51 percent of white and 50 percent of black high school graduates went on to college. Since then the racial disparity has grown substantially.

The Reagan Administration's FY 1988 budget calls for massive reductions in overall federal spending for education. Total education funding would be cut from the \$19.5 billion appropriated for FY 1987 to \$14 billion in FY 1988, a 28 percent decrease. If the President had his way:

- Financial assistance to local school districts for the education of disadvantaged elementary and secondary school children would go up by \$200 million, far less than the \$1.5 billion the Congressional Budget Office in 1985 said was necessary merely to offset fully the decline of real funding levels attributable to inflation.
- Funding for immigrant and refugee education would go from \$45.9 million in FY 1987 to zero in FY 1988.
- The state grant program for handicapped children would be reduced from \$1.338 billion in FY 1987 to \$1.259 billion in FY 1988.
- Federal funds used to provide assistance to states in the expansion, improvement, and development of quality vocational programs—\$882 million in FY 1987—would be eliminated in FY 1988.
- A number of smaller federal education programs that were established to address specific national priorities or responsibilities would be abolished, including: the Women's Educational Equity program; training and advisory services to provide technical assistance and training to school districts that are in the process of promoting desegregation; the Follow-Through Program, which bolsters gains made by Head Start children; public library services and construction assistance; and a \$95.5 million program for financially struggling institutions of higher education.
- The Administration is proposing a huge (\$3.7 billion) cut in FY 1988 in federal financial aid to college students. Pell grant funding would be slashed in FY 1988 to \$2.7 billion from \$3.9 billion in FY 1987. Special programs for students from disadvantaged backgrounds (TRIO) would be cut in half, from \$176.4 million in FY 1987 to \$82.4 million in FY 1988. Higher education programs slated for complete elimination include: the College Work-Study Program, the Supplemental Education Opportunity Grant Program, and the State Student Incentive Grant Program.

CDF's Legislative Agenda contains a range of education proposals designed to help children with special needs through the expansion of successful federal programs.

- CDF recommends a \$500 million increase in the Chapter I program each year for two years to expand significantly the number of children served.
- To provide an additional 159,000 students with bilingual education services, Congress should appropriate \$250 million for the Bilingual Education Act.
- As a first step to compensate for skyrocketing tuition costs, the FY 1988 appropriation for Pell grants should be increased by \$500 million to \$4.3 billion.

Also, the CDF Legislative Agenda proposes support for promising new efforts, including:

- Passage of the Dropout Prevention and Recovery Act, providing \$50 million for a new effort to gather uniform nationwide information and to develop and fund demonstration projects aimed at keeping potential dropouts in school and returning dropouts back to school.
- The Effective Schools program, allotting \$100 million of Chapter II funds to increase school effectiveness through programs that improve student achievement, student behavior, teaching, learning, and school management.
- Investments in community learning centers that provide remedial education in out-of-school settings.

Youth Employment

Youths, especially low-income youths, need help to overcome the most formidable barrier they face in their search for employment: poor basic academic skills.

- Youths who by age eighteen have the weakest basic skills (in the lowest fifth) are between four and seven times more likely to be jobless and out of school in subsequent years than those with above-average basic skills.
- Eighty-five percent of all high school dropouts have below-average basic skills, and dropouts are two and a half times more likely to be unemployed than high school graduates.

Lack of basic skills, along with persistent discrimination based on race or sex, below-par schools, and limited opportunities, add up to dim employment prospects for many youths from poor and minority families.

- One in three poor teenagers is officially counted as unemployed, far higher than the one in seven youths who is unemployed among households with incomes greater than three times the poverty level.
- In addition to the 1.4 million teens officially counted as unemployed, an equal number want or need to find work but have given up looking for a job. About one in three Hispanic youths and fewer than one in four black youths were employed in late 1986—roughly half the employment rate of white teenagers.

- Employment rates for recent high school graduates not going on to college dropped from 72 percent in October 1979 to 62 percent in October 1985.

All teens, including minority teens, are now less likely than in the past to be employed full time. The portion of all employed sixteen- to nineteen-year-olds with full-time jobs declined from 46 percent to 37 percent between 1979 and 1985, due to increasing part-time work in occupations dominated by young workers.

High rates of unemployment, along with low earnings even for those poor and minority youths who are fully employed, persist into adulthood, leaving increasing numbers of young adults unable to earn income adequate to support their families.

- Between 1973 and 1984, the real incomes of all males age twenty to twenty-four dropped by 33 percent. Among black males in this age group, average annual incomes fell by 44 percent in real terms.
- These sharp declines in earnings mean far fewer young men bring home incomes sufficient to support above the poverty line even a family of three, the traditional size of a young family starting out in life. In 1984 only 48 percent of white men and 27 percent of black men between ages twenty and twenty-four earned enough to support a wife and one child. In contrast, 64 percent of white males and 57 percent of black males earned enough to do so in 1973.

The implications of these earning losses are profound and far-reaching. If a young man is unable to earn enough to support a child, the financial incentives to marry and form a family are diminished sharply. Not surprisingly, therefore, marriage rates among young people have fallen along with average earnings for young male workers. Between 1974 and 1985 marriage rates for all twenty- to twenty-four-year-olds declined by 46 percent.

Federal youth employment initiatives, though modest, still play an important role in getting poor and minority teens off to a good start in a difficult labor market.

- The vast majority of Job Corps participants are economically disadvantaged high school dropouts, with an average sixth grade reading level. Among these youths with multiple problems, Job Corps increases employment, earnings, and school completion rates while reducing crime and welfare costs. Every dollar invested in Job Corps yields \$1.45 in benefits to American society.
- Federally sponsored remedial programs that rely upon individualized instruction at the teenager's own pace, when combined with work experience, have proven extremely effective in strengthening basic academic skills. Job Corps remediation efforts have helped participants improve their reading skills by an average of one and a half grade levels and their math skills by one grade level after only ninety hours of instruction.

The federal commitment to youth employment and training programs has fallen far short of meeting the needs of most poor and minority teenagers, however. Budget cuts, erosion by inflation, and lack of leadership by Congress and the Reagan Administration have taken their toll:

- The Summer Youth Employment Program, which offered summer job opportunities to nearly 1 million young people when President Reagan took office, served just over 750,000 in 1986.

- Job Corps was able to reach only 3 percent of the 1.4 million teenagers officially counted as unemployed at the end of 1986.

The Reagan Administration's budget proposals for FY 1988 can only harm further the deteriorating job prospects of poor and minority youths.

- The Summer Youth Employment Program is targeted for the largest immediate spending reduction, a \$100 million rescission in FY 1987, and a \$100 million reduction in FY 1988. These budget cuts would reduce the number of summer jobs for disadvantaged teenagers by roughly 100,000.
- Other funding proposals for youth employment initiatives in President Reagan's budget include a \$4.7 million reduction in Job Corps funding in FY 1988.

The federal government can take some immediate steps to foster and encourage work and learning among poor and minority youths.

- An FY 1988 appropriation of \$950 million would support needed improvements in the Summer Youth Employment Program, including individualized remedial services and summer job guarantees as incentives to raise educational achievement.
- More than 20,000 additional young people would receive Job Corps' cost-effective training if Congress appropriates \$800 million for the program in FY 1988.
- To provide a greater sense of hope among disadvantaged youths and to reward them for their achievements, a new demonstration program of Youth Opportunity Accounts should be created to allow at-risk teens in selected communities to earn credits toward future education, training, or subsidized work experience by reaching educational goals or performing community service.
- Increases in the federal minimum wage are necessary to reverse the dramatic decline of earnings among young workers. The current minimum wage of \$3.35 an hour should be raised to \$3.95 in 1988, with stepped increases in subsequent years to restore the minimum wage to its real 1979 value (adjusted for inflation).

Preventing Adolescent Pregnancy and Building Youth Self-Sufficiency

Today, staying in school and delaying the responsibility of supporting a family are virtually essential to a young adult's eventual economic self-sufficiency. Too-early entry into work and parenthood not only puts teens at a disadvantage relative to their peers, but often puts them in poverty.

- In 1960 a high school dropout earned almost 90 percent of the income of a high school graduate. By 1980 the proportion had dropped to 70 percent.

Too many teens, male and female, are taking steps that may limit their chances of adult self-sufficiency.

- Each year more than 1 million American teens become pregnant—four out of five unintentionally. Slightly less than half (44 percent) of these

pregnancies result in births. Half of these births are to young women who have dropped out of school; more than half (56 percent) are to young women who are not married.

- Seventeen percent of youths ages eighteen to twenty-one have not completed high school.
- Twelve percent of teenage girls already have become mothers. Half are raising their children as single parents.

To grow into self-sufficient adults, teens need support from adult society in five key areas: academic education, health, preparation for the world of work, social responsibility and social awareness, and personal growth. But poor children in America receive far less help than their more advantaged peers in making the transition to adulthood. They typically receive lower quality, inadequate education and as a result they are more likely to have lower basic academic skills.

- More than half of the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds with family incomes below the poverty level have basic skills in the bottom fifth of the distribution for their age group. Low-income teens are four times as likely to have poor basic skills as are teens with family incomes above the poverty line.

Youths who are poor and have weak basic skills are also more likely to suffer the further problems of early and unmarried parenthood.

- Sixteen- to nineteen-year-old young women with poor basic skills—whether white, black, or Hispanic—are more than three times as likely to be parents as are those with average or better basic skills.
- Young mothers nineteen to twenty-three years old with poor basic skills are four times more likely to be single parents than are young mothers with average skills.

If we are to help reduce the numbers of youths who are, through these behaviors, seriously reducing their chances of adult self-sufficiency, we will have to address our children's unmet needs. Poverty, discrimination, and poor basic skills combine to produce a group of adolescents and young adults who have little opportunity to keep up with their peers and little reason to believe that playing by society's rules will increase their chances of becoming full participants in the benefits of that society. Effectively shut off from hopes of even modest success, these youths see little to gain by staying in school, delaying parenthood, or marrying once childbearing has begun. Together, their limited skills and limited opportunities disrupt their progress toward self-sufficiency.

We must give all teens a broad range of experiences, exposures, and relationships with adults that will build their self-esteem, extend their vision beyond neighborhood boundaries, continue their education, and expand their knowledge of the challenges of the skills required in the world of work. Families, government, schools, churches, and communities all have a role in the range of efforts that are necessary to put self-sufficiency within the reach of all of our children.

Abused and Neglected Children and Others with Special Needs

Children need to be free from abuse and neglect, need permanent, secure homes, and need to grow up with strong mental and emotional health. But these needs are not met for millions of American children.

- An estimated 1.9 million children and adolescents were reported abused and neglected in 1985, the most recent year for which national data are available. This represents a 10.7 percent increase since 1984, and a 58 percent increase since 1981.
- According to the most recent estimate, there are slightly more than 275,000 children in foster care. Increasingly, the children entering care are adolescents and seriously troubled children. In many states today, youths thirteen and older account for approximately 40 percent of the caseload.
- An estimated 7.5 million to 9.5 million children in this country are in need of mental health services. Approximately 3 million of them have serious emotional problems. According to the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, 70 to 80 percent of them are not getting needed services.

Between 1974 and 1980, the federal government stepped up its efforts to help vulnerable children.

- The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act, enacted in 1974, authorizes grants to states to assist them in developing and strengthening programs designed to prevent child abuse and neglect and to provide treatment for its victims.
- The Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act, enacted in 1980, is aimed at providing alternatives to prevent unnecessary out-of-home placements, encouraging permanency planning for children who are in care, and ensuring quality care for children in placement.
- In FY 1987 an estimated 30,000 children with mental, physical, or emotional handicaps or other special needs will benefit from the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act's Adoption Assistance program, an increase from 165 in FY 1981.

Despite important strides in recent years, the federal commitment to meeting the special needs of troubled children and families is still grossly inadequate. State and local systems set up to provide help are underfunded and are being swamped by rapid increases in demand for their services.

- More than 60,000 cases involving abused and neglected children were handled by Missouri's Division of Family Services in 1985. Fewer than 20 percent of the troubled children and their families who needed treatment services received them.
- A key source of child abuse prevention and treatment funds—the Title XX Social Services Block Grant—was cut by 21 percent in 1981 alone, and since FY 1984 only has kept level funding. Its current \$2.7 billion appropriation is still \$200 million less than what the program was funded at in 1981, while reports of abuse and neglect have jumped 58 percent since that time.

- In some states, increases in deaths of children at home or in foster care provide brutal evidence of the current overload on state child welfare systems. The National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse recently reported that the number of child deaths due to maltreatment increased dramatically in 1986. In the twenty-four states for which survey data were available, the number of confirmed or suspected child deaths due to maltreatment increased 26.7 percent over 1985, from 386 to 489, whereas deaths in those same states had declined by 2 percent between 1984 and 1985.
- The recently released 1985 Maryland Foster Care Review Board Report to the General Assembly found that the lack of foster homes in that state has reached crisis proportions. Evidence included a nearly 50 percent increase in children in emergency foster homes.
- HHS officials estimate that approximately 50,000 youths sixteen and older leave foster care each year; at least one-third of them are discharged to their own responsibility. Fewer than 20 percent of the adolescents in substitute care return to their birth families, while even fewer are likely to be adopted. Without any form of secure adult support, these youths too frequently become the responsibility of other public systems. One study of occupants of homeless shelters in New York City reported that about half had a history of foster care placements.
- Youths with mental health needs are more likely to end up in inappropriate inpatient placements because private and public insurance programs provide little if any coverage of treatment in less restrictive settings. The National Institute of Mental Health reports that annual admissions of youths younger than eighteen to private psychiatric hospitals more than doubled between 1970 and 1980, a trend that has escalated since 1980.

The Administration in its budget proposals for FY 1988 ignores the growing demands that these children and families with special needs are placing on existing service systems.

- It would eliminate for FY 1987 and FY 1988 the \$45 million independent living program designed to assist older youths in foster care to become self-sufficient when they leave care.
- It would make the following additional cuts and freezes affecting child welfare services: reducing funding for the Child Welfare Services Program by 10 percent for FY 1987, and leaving it at that lower level for FY 1988; maintaining the Title XX Social Services Block Grant at its FY 1987 level of \$2.7 billion for FY 1988; reducing FY 1988 funds available for the federal Foster Care Program by 21 percent below the amount expected to be spent in FY 1987, while projecting that it will serve an average of 8,000 more children a month; and maintaining FY 1988 funding for the federal Adoption Assistance Program at approximately the level expected to be spent in FY 1987, even though it projects that an additional 9,000 special needs children will be assisted under the program.

Current federal programs offer an initial framework for helping children and families with special needs. But our nation must increase significantly the resources available on their behalf and make a commitment to the establishment of a comprehensive system of services.

- Over the next five years, federal investments on behalf of children and adolescents with special needs and their families at least should be tripled.
- In the short term, increased funds must be provided for the range of programs that serve these vulnerable children, including: the Title XX Social Services Block Grant, child abuse prevention and treatment programs, the Child Welfare Services Program, federal foster care and adoption assistance programs, and the Child and Adolescent Service System Program.
- The federal independent living initiative for older youths in foster care must be implemented immediately and the funds distributed to eligible states.

Runaway Youths and Others in the Juvenile Justice System

Many troubled youths have suffered problems like abuse and neglect; some have been in the foster care system, and others have special emotional needs that have not been addressed.

- Between 1.2 million and 1.5 million children run away from home each year, according to a 1983 national survey by the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services. Runaway youths represent the overwhelming majority of "missing children," a problem receiving much public attention today. Most are seeking escape from abuse, neglect, or other family problems. A national study revealed that more than a third were running from physical or sexual abuse at home, and 40 percent from other family problems. While their average age is fifteen, some runaways are as young as ten. Most teenagers who run away return home within a day or two, and almost all do so within six months. But some never return home; increasing numbers have no home to which to return.
- A far smaller group of troubled youths are those who come into contact with the formal juvenile justice system and are charged with status offenses (acts like running away that would not be crimes if committed by adults). A one-day snapshot of this population taken by the federal government in 1983 showed that approximately 9,000 runaway youths and other status offenders (such as those charged with incorrigibility or truancy) were in public or private juvenile correctional facilities; 2,480 of the youths were in institutional care; and 6,550 were in more open, community-based settings. Status offenders represented just more than 10 percent of the 80,000 youths reported detained by the juvenile justice system on that day.
- A further group of troubled youths are those charged with delinquency. Contrary to popular myths, most detained youths have not been charged with violent acts. Fewer than one-fourth of the youths detained in public juvenile facilities in 1985 had committed such acts, according to U.S. Justice Department data.
- A shrinking but still significant number of troubled youths are confined in adult jails. Each year more than 100,000 youths are estimated to pass through jails or be detained in secure lock-ups (temporary holding facilities not counted in the National Jail Census).

Major federal initiatives under the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, enacted in 1974, have begun the complex task of addressing the varied needs of troubled youths.

- In FY 1985, with partial support from federal funds, approximately 68,000 youths were sheltered by 274 runaway shelters across the country, and an additional 274,000 received assistance on a drop-in basis. Fifty-three percent of the youths sheltered were returned to families or guardians and 41 percent to other positive and safe living arrangements.
- Nationwide, the number of status offenders in secure facilities declined from 200,000 in 1979 to 25,000 in 1984.
- The number of youths in adult jails has dropped sharply, from 8,000 prior to the Act's passage to 1,700 today.
- Delinquent youths who are diverted from secure jails are more likely to be crime-free after being released.

However, in many states the steps that have been taken are only a beginning. Today's troubled youths often have multiple needs. That puts an increased burden on states and localities to provide the range of services needed. States, cities, and counties cannot fully meet the range of complex challenges facing them without additional federal help.

- The system of more than 400 crisis centers for runaway youths in this country (approximately three-fourths of them partially funded by the federal government) is able to serve adequately only an estimated one-fifth to one-fourth of those in need of shelter and other services.
- Although the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act originally was intended to focus on prevention, investments in this area have taken a back seat to states' efforts to comply with the Act's other mandates. In FY 1985, for example, at least ten states allocated no funds at all for prevention activities.

The Reagan Administration has tried repeatedly to reduce the federal commitment to the Runaway and Homeless Youth and Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention programs.

- After four years of rebuffs from Congress in its efforts to reduce the funding levels for shelters and services for runaway and homeless young people, the Administration requested and got level funding of the program for Fiscal Years 1986 and 1987 at the FY 1984 level of \$23.2 million.
- The Administration has consistently requested "zero funding" for the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Program, asserting, mistakenly, that the program's goals have been met. While Congress consistently has provided \$70 million for the program, this is only 70 percent of its 1981 funding—and only 56 percent of the 1981 level in inflation-adjusted dollars.

President Reagan's FY 1988 budget once again proposes to reduce these crucial federal investments:

- For the seventh year in a row, the \$70 million Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Program is recommended for elimination.

- The \$45 million independent living program (enacted in 1986 to assist older youths in foster care become self-sufficient when they leave care) also is proposed for elimination in both FY 1987 and FY 1988.

Over the next five years a concerted effort must be made to triple federal investments on behalf of the range of programs for troubled children and their families.

- To help more troubled youths, we must make an increased investment in the programs funded under the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act and the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act.
- The federal independent living initiative for older youths in foster care who need help to prepare to live on their own must be implemented immediately.
- To prevent more of our children from becoming runaways or troubled youths in the first place, we must help children who are abused, neglected, or emotionally disturbed by increasing funding for the Social Services Block Grant, the Child Welfare Services Program, the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Program, and the Child and Adolescent Service System Program.

Child Care

A growing majority of American families need child care.

- More than half of women with children younger than three work, as does an even higher percentage of women with preschool and school-age children. Most work full time.
- In the next decade, the number of children younger than six needing child care will grow by more than 50 percent.
- If current trends continue, by 1995 more than three-quarters of all school-age children and two-thirds of preschool children will have mothers in the labor force.

For low-income families, whether headed by a single parent or by two parents, child care is a critical first step toward self-sufficiency.

- In 1983, 2.5 million children, or more than one-sixth of all poor children, were poor although they had a parent who worked full time. Millions of other poor children had parents who worked part time.
- A recent Washington State study identified child care problems as a key barrier to employment faced by two-thirds of the single mothers receiving AFDC benefits who were interviewed.

Despite the critical importance of child care to America's families, it is extremely difficult—especially for low-income families—to find and pay for decent care.

- More than half of 1,500 working parents polled by Child Care Systems, a Pennsylvania information and referral program, reported changing their child care arrangements at least once during a twelve-month period, and 14 percent had to make three or more changes.
- Available child care often does not accommodate the working schedules of parents. Women who work are, for the most part, employed in full-

time jobs: 71 percent of working mothers with children younger than eighteen work full time, as do 66 percent with children younger than three. Yet child care arrangements rarely fit a full-day schedule.

- One major reason for the scarcity of decent care is the terribly low wages earned by most child care workers. In 1984, 90 percent of private household child care workers and 58 percent of all other child care workers earned less than poverty-level wages.
- Poor and near-poor families cannot bear child care costs without help. The typical cost of full-time child care is about \$3,000 a year for one child, or one-third of the poverty-level income for a family of three.

The federal government thus far has refused to take a leadership role in meeting the nation's child care needs.

- The vast majority of direct federal assistance for child care comes through the Title XX Social Services Block Grant. In 1981 the President and Congress reduced federal funds for Title XX for 1982 by 20 percent, including a loss of \$75 million earmarked for training of child care and other service providers and administrators. Despite subsequent minor boosts, Title XX funding is now one-half (in real terms) of what it was a decade ago.

In response to the federal cuts, twenty-three states now offer Title XX child care to even fewer youngsters than in 1981, though there are more poor children with working parents needing its services.

Recognizing the need to supplement Title XX, a number of states recently have created new and separate child care programs funded entirely through state or state and local dollars. But progress at the state level has been uneven, depending more on the health of a state's economy than on its child care needs.

The combined impact of curtailed federal and inadequate state child care assistance to poor families is predictable: long waiting lists and millions of unserved children.

- Fewer than 10 percent of the 1.1 million eligible California children who are fourteen or younger can be served at the state's current level of child care funding.
- In 1984 only 20,000 of the 300,000 Pennsylvania children in need of subsidized care received it.

In FY 1988 the Administration proposes to dilute already limited federal support for child care. Among the President's proposals that would exacerbate the child care crisis in this country are:

- Failing once again to increase funding for the Title XX Social Services Block Grant.
- Cutting the Child Care Food Program by approximately \$200 million.
- Ending several smaller programs that provide child care assistance.

The federal, state, and local governments must take the initiative to build a child care system that works. As a first step in expanding the federal resources targeted to child care, Congress should increase funds for the Title XX Social Services Block Grant from \$2.7 billion in FY 1987 to \$3.3 billion for FY 1988.

The next step should be the passage of a significant new federal funding stream dedicated to child care. Funding should be available to meet the child care needs of all age groups and all families earning up to their state's median income, with a rising copayment for families above the poverty line but below the median income.

Head Start

During the first four or five years of life, a child is growing and developing at an extraordinarily rapid pace. Recognizing the importance of making an early investment in every child, more and more Americans, especially those with the means to pay for early childhood development programs, are enrolling their children.

- Sheila Kamerman and Alfred Kahn, at the Columbia School of Social Work, analyzed primary school data provided by the U.S. Department of Education and found that 67 percent of four-year-olds (and 54 percent of three-year-olds) whose families have incomes of \$35,000 a year or more attend preschool programs.
- In contrast, in 1985 fewer than 33 percent of four-year-olds and 17 percent of three-year-olds whose families had incomes of less than \$10,000 a year were enrolled in preschool programs.

Head Start is the federal government's program to compensate for the many disadvantages suffered by low-income children whose parents cannot afford to pay for good early childhood services. A Head Start-type experience is an investment that continues to pay dividends both to the individuals and to society far into the future.

- *Changed Lives*, by High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, a twenty-year follow-up study of graduates of a preschool program similar to Head Start, found that graduates of Head Start or similar programs are much more likely to complete high school and to go on to vocational or academic training than are their peers without this type of early experience. They are more likely to be supporting themselves and less likely to be receiving public assistance. Graduates are less likely to be in trouble with the law, less likely to become teen parents, and more likely to be employed than those without the early childhood-development experience.

Despite Head Start's proven effectiveness, the federal commitment of funds falls far short of the need.

- Head Start now reaches about 451,000 disadvantaged youngsters, or only 16 percent of the 2.5 million children who need its services. Hundreds of thousands of poor children are on waiting lists.

The Administration's FY 1988 funding recommendations for Head Start are duplicitous.

- The Administration recommends that Head Start receive a \$20 million increase, an amount that will not even allow the program to keep pace with inflation. The Administration then recommends a change in the law that could undercut the program by making its funding discretionary at the whim of the Administration.

The successful Head Start formula should be offered to many more eligible children.

- Appropriated funds should be raised to the full authorization level of \$1.263 billion in FY 1988 not only to meet the need to serve more children, but also to guard against slippage in quality.
- After that, to double during the next five years the number of children served and to ensure quality, Head Start authorization and appropriation levels must be increased by at least \$300 million annually.
- Eventually every eligible child should have the benefit of an experience in Head Start or a comparable program.

Civil Rights

Through its philosophy and conduct, the Administration has reversed the federal government's long-standing commitment to equal rights and equal opportunity. The Administration has attacked civil rights across the board:

- In the area of employment, the Administration has argued unsuccessfully that, even when ordered by a court after a finding of discrimination, goals to increase the hiring of minority and women employees are illegal under the Constitution and anti-discrimination laws. The Department of Justice (DOJ) also has attacked the nation's largest and most successful affirmative action effort: the federal government's own program for federal contractors, set forth in Executive Order 11246.
- In the area of education, DOJ has attempted through the courts to upset ongoing and well-accepted desegregation efforts in scores of elementary and secondary school systems across the nation. Also, the Administration has lent support to "segregation academies"—primarily southern private schools for whites that have been established to circumvent desegregation mandates—by granting tax-exempt status to these institutions.
- In the area of citizen participation, the Administration repeatedly has attempted to weaken the Voting Rights Act and its enforcement. In *Thornburg v. Gingles*, the first major Supreme Court test of the Act since its reauthorization in 1982, DOJ urged on the Supreme Court a position that was rejected by Republican leaders of Congress and all members of the Court.

Not only has the Administration actively taken the side of civil rights violators on a range of issues, it often has sat on its hands when called on to enforce civil rights laws.

- Federal law stipulates that federal dollars must not be spent to subsidize institutions engaged in discrimination. However, at the prompting of the Administration, the Supreme Court in 1984 created a giant loophole in this law: in *Grove City v. Bell*, it ruled that this prohibition applies only to the particular activity for which federal funds are received. The Administration has embraced this narrow view wholeheartedly, opposing all legislation to restore the anti-discrimination prohibition to the broader scope it generally was understood to have before *Grove City*.

- Of the thousands of complaints the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) in the Department of Health and Human Services handled between 1981 and 1986, only two have gone to administrative hearings, and only four have been referred to DOJ. In the vast majority of cases in which it finds civil rights violations, OCR makes use of a very lax voluntary settlement approach.
- At the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), which handles employment discrimination claims, rapid closure of cases routinely is given priority over effective enforcement. The percentage of concluded cases in which evidence of discrimination is found has declined dramatically, from 72 percent in FY 1980 to 44 percent in FY 1986.

The top echelon of DOJ is one of the most segregated work forces in the nation. There are no women or blacks in the department's twenty-one presidentially appointed senior policy-making jobs. In fact, DOJ is one of three federal agencies that have refused to follow federal regulations requiring them to set minority hiring goals.

Of the 226 lawyers nominated by President Reagan to be federal trial judges, only four are black. Only 1.7 percent of his nominees to the federal appeals courts are black and only 6.7 percent women.

For FY 1988, the Administration again has proposed large budget cuts or complete elimination of programs directed at improving the opportunities for minority groups to advance in our society. The Administration wants to eliminate the Women's Educational Equity Act, assistance for desegregating educational institutions, and educational assistance for immigrants and refugees and to make large cuts in educational programs for the handicapped.

5. HEALTH

On September 12, 1986, Gloria A went into labor in Cameron County, Texas. The A family, like hundreds of other families in Cameron County, had no savings and no health insurance. They planned to have a home delivery with a *partera* (a lay midwife). But it soon became evident that Mrs. A's labor was not normal. She went to the community health center, where she had received prenatal care. The attending obstetrician discovered that her baby was in a "breech" position and determined that an immediate Caesarean section delivery would have to be performed. After placing Mrs. A on intravenous equipment and getting her into a medical van, the physician called the hospital to say he was admitting a patient for an emergency delivery.

When Mrs. A and her husband arrived at the hospital, however, she was not admitted as her physician had instructed. The hospital refused to accept her because the family was poor and uninsured. Texas provides a special program for indigent women like Mrs. A that would have helped pay for the delivery, but the hospital refused to participate in this program. The other hospital in Brownsville also refused to admit uninsured patients, and the next closest hospital with obstetrical facilities that might admit someone of Mrs. A's limited means was thirty-five to forty miles away.

While in active labor, Mrs. A was met by a member of the hospital business office staff, who informed her that because she and her husband were uninsured they would have to pay \$3,000 to be admitted. (The delivery actually would cost about \$1,500.) The staff person told the A family that if they insisted upon being treated without paying, the hospital would bring a collection action to repossess everything they owned.

Shaken by her condition and frightened by these threats, Mrs. A and her husband left the hospital. They were not permitted to leave, however, until she signed a form stating that she was leaving against the medical advice of the hospital.

Mrs. A finally delivered her baby a day later at a hospital that admitted her without charging her. As a result of the delay,

the baby's umbilical cord had collapsed and oxygen flow to the brain was restricted. Physicians do not know at this point whether or not the infant will suffer lifetime disabilities-as a result.

Every child needs decent health care at every stage of his or her development. Good medical care must begin with comprehensive care provided early in and throughout his or her mother's pregnancy, labor, and delivery. It continues throughout childhood, with care for a child's preventive, acute, and chronic health care needs. It is crucial in the teenage years to protect a youth's overall health and to prevent teen pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases.

No pregnant woman should be denied maternity care because she does not have the money to pay for it. No child—whether his or her need is for immunizations, treatment for a strep throat, dental care, hospitalization, medicines, eyeglasses, speech therapy necessary because of a hearing loss, or long-term care at home—should go without health care because his or her family cannot afford it. No teen should have to forgo counseling to prevent premature sexual activity or pregnancy. Each sexually active teen should be able to obtain contraceptive services, if appropriate, whether or not he or she can pay.

Preventive care during all stages of a child's life pays off in improved health as well as in financial savings to society. The alternative is higher human, social, and economic costs.

Early and continuous maternity care (which includes regular medical exams, any needed treatment, nutrition counseling, a safe and appropriate delivery, and support services) can reduce mortality and low birthweight among infants by more than 25 percent. Low-birthweight babies are twenty times more likely than others to die in the first year of life and are at significantly greater risk of developing such permanent handicapping conditions as retardation, cerebral palsy, and autism. Children born to mothers who receive no prenatal care are three times more likely to die in their first year of life than are other babies.

Because it prevents more serious or long-term problems, early and continuous health care for pregnant women saves our society money. Comprehensive prenatal care is highly effective in reducing the incidence of prematurity and low birthweight. For every hour that high-quality prenatal services postpone the birth of a premature infant, our society can save \$100. Every dollar spent to provide prenatal care saves more than \$3 in the first year of an infant's life alone by reducing the need for expensive hospital stays among babies. That same dollar saves an average of up to \$11 in total medical expenses over the lifetime of a child, because the child is less likely to be born with permanent disabilities.

Early and continuous health care for children after birth saves lives and helps prevent unnecessary pain and suffering. It also averts or minimizes long-term health problems, helping children grow into healthy, productive adults.

High-quality preventive, primary, and remedial pediatric health care can ensure that problems that can develop during infancy, such as respiratory, neurologic, or orthopedic impairments, are detected and treated. Health professionals working with low-income school children have found that as many as 80 percent are suffering from one or more untreated medical conditions. Such untreated problems as vision, hearing, and dental problems, anemia, and mental health and developmental conditions can impair substantially a child's ability to attend or benefit from school and prepare for later life. Many of these conditions can be treated and remedied, averting long-term harm to the child.

Such timely treatment and preventive care are also cost-effective. Children who receive comprehensive pediatric care, including preventive services, have been shown to have annual health care costs nearly 10 percent lower than children who do not receive such care.

Teenagers Have Special Health Care Needs

Teenagers need comprehensive medical care not just to maintain their overall health but to ensure their reproductive health. Teens who engage in sex without counseling or contraception face a series of health risks to themselves and, potentially, to their babies.

Access to preventive health education promotes more mature decision-making by teens about maintaining their own health and making responsible choices about sexual activity. Further, for teens who do choose to be sexually active, comprehensive family planning services play a crucial role in reducing infant mortality.

- A planned birth is more likely to be a healthy birth. Contraceptive use and family planning services reduce infant mortality by preventing unintended and unplanned pregnancies among women who are at medical and social risk. These include women who have health conditions that would make a pregnancy dangerous for the mother or baby, and those (including women who are too young) who are not prepared at the present time to have and care for a baby.
- Family planning is also key to saving infants' lives. About half the decline in infant mortality in the late 1960s has been attributed to changes in the spacing and timing of births. These changes were primarily the result of improved use of family planning services. Furthermore, use of publicly funded family planning services by low-income women has been cited as the second most important factor in the decline in neonatal infant mortality (deaths occurring between birth and twenty-eight days) among nonwhite infants.
- Barrier forms of contraception also reduce infant disease and death by reducing the likelihood of sexually transmitted diseases. Recent Centers for Disease Control reports found that, after eight years of steady decline, the annual number of reported cases of congenital syphilis among infants rose from 108 to 268 between 1979 and 1985. Infant pneumonia, of which maternal chlamydia is a major cause, is one of the ten leading causes of infant death.

Every dollar spent on family planning saves more than \$4 by averting unintended pregnancies and thereby reducing health and welfare costs in the year following birth.

If teens do not receive preventive health education and services, they face a range of health risks stemming from too-early sexual activity. The prevalence of sexually transmitted diseases has been rising, and unintended adolescent pregnancy (whether culminating in abortion or birth) is detrimental to teens' well-being.

Sexually Transmitted Diseases

- Sexually active adolescents ages fifteen through nineteen suffer the highest overall rates of sexually transmitted diseases among Americans.

These teens' risk of disease is estimated to be two to three times higher than that of individuals age twenty or older.

- In 1983, about 89,000 cases of gonorrhea and 1,600 cases of syphilis were reported among boys age fifteen through nineteen. Among girls in that age span, about 132,000 cases of gonorrhea and 1,800 cases of syphilis were reported. About one-quarter of all reported gonorrhea cases occur in teenagers.
- Chlamydia is the country's most prevalent and fastest growing sexually transmitted disease. An estimated 1 million teens suffer from chlamydial infections each year. Untreated chlamydia can result in sterility in women and pneumonia, blindness, or even death to babies born to infected mothers.

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS)

- Minority populations, particularly black and Hispanic populations, are at increased risk of AIDS. While blacks make up only 12 percent of the U.S. population, they account for 25 percent of all persons with AIDS. Six out of ten American children suffering from AIDS are black. One factor causing the increased risk of fetal transmission is unprotected sexual activity by parents.
- Heterosexual men and women will account for 7 percent of the total AIDS cases projected for 1986, and for more than 9 percent of the total cases by 1991. Furthermore, by 1991 more than 3,000 AIDS cases will have been diagnosed in infants and children, the vast majority of these cases involving transmission of the disease to them as fetuses. One way to slow the spread of AIDS is to use appropriate protective contraception. In part because of their failure to use barrier forms of contraception during intercourse, heterosexual teens soon may face a higher risk of AIDS than heterosexual adults.
- To date, slightly more than 100 cases of AIDS have been diagnosed among thirteen- to nineteen-year-olds. In addition, because AIDS symptoms do not appear immediately, many of those in their early twenties who have AIDS probably contracted the disease as teenagers. Indications are that in some areas of the country as many as eight out of every 1,000 young adults are testing positively for the virus.

Pregnancy

- Each year 1.1 million American teens become pregnant—one of every eleven women age fifteen through nineteen and one of every four sexually active young women.
- The pregnancy rate among American teens is twice as high as the rates found in Britain, France, or Canada and three times as high as that in Sweden. Although black pregnancy rates are higher than white rates in the United States, the pregnancy rate among white U.S. teens alone is higher than the overall rate of several other industrialized countries.

- In 1984, of the 1.1 million teen pregnancies in this country, 44 percent (479,647) resulted in births, roughly 40 percent ended in abortion, and an estimated 15 percent ended in miscarriage.
- Between 1972 and 1982, adolescent pregnancy rates among all teenage women fifteen through nineteen years old rose by 17 percent (from ninety-five per 1,000 young women to 111 per 1,000). However, pregnancy rates among teens who were sexually active actually declined by 6 to 7 percent during the late 1970s. Evidence suggests that the sharp increase in contraceptive use among sexually active teens was a key factor in this decline. During the 1980s, adolescent pregnancy rates appear to have leveled off.
- Eight out of ten teen pregnancies are unintended.

Abortion

- Teenagers account for more than one-quarter of the abortions performed in the United States each year. In 1983, teens age fifteen through nineteen had nearly 400,000 abortions. Teens age fourteen and younger accounted for nearly 16,000 additional abortions that year. Three out of five teens faced with an unintended pregnancy choose not to have the child.
- Prevention of premature sexual activity and unintended pregnancy is key to reducing the prevalence of teen abortions. More than 300,000 unintended pregnancies could be averted each year if sexually active teens who use contraceptives used them consistently. Young women are among those most likely to experience a mistimed or unwanted pregnancy.

Millions of Mothers, Young Children, and Teens Have No Public or Private Health Insurance and Limited Access to Necessary Health Care

Decent health care, including preventive care, is very expensive in this country. Total spending on health care among Americans rose from 6 percent of the Gross National Product in 1965 to 10.7 percent of the much larger 1985 Gross National Product. The United States spent a record \$425 billion on health care in 1985.

Despite this massive expenditure, millions of American families and children are forced to go without necessary care. Millions of families—especially lower-income working families and unemployed families—are covered by neither private nor public insurance. Others are insured for only a portion of each year. Because health insurance plays such a crucial role in maintaining a family's access to health care, uninsured persons receive only about 75 percent as much physician care and half as much hospital care as persons with health insurance.

The Private Health Insurance System Is Leaving More Americans Uninsured

Our nation relies primarily on private health insurance to meet much of the health care costs of the working-age population and its dependents. Most of such private insurance comes through jobs. Employer-sponsored health care

plans are the single most important source of private health care coverage for Americans younger than sixty-five. In 1984, nearly 80 percent of all privately insured Americans were covered by employer plans.

Traditionally, employers have paid much or all of the cost of premiums for coverage of their employees (and frequently some or all of the cost for dependents). The costs of this insurance are held down because it is purchased on a group basis and the pool of employed persons excludes many nonworking Americans who tend to have the most health problems, including the elderly, the disabled, and those who are unemployed because they are ill.

Employer-sponsored private health care is subsidized by the federal government in a way that benefits well-off working families substantially more than the poor and near-poor. The federal government underwrites some of the cost by providing substantial tax relief to the employees. The employers' payments for insurance premiums or health bills are not counted as part of the employees' salaries for federal tax-purposes. The federal government's cost in Fiscal Year 1987 for forgoing income taxes on employer-paid health insurance benefits was estimated at about \$23.3 billion, up from \$8.3 billion in 1979. The disproportionate share of this tax relief goes to upper income families, because tax deductions are worth considerably more to well-to-do families and because high-income earners on average have more generous (and therefore more expensive) health insurance plans.

The federal government helps individuals and families cope with medical costs in several other ways that involve the tax system. These additional shelters and deductions also primarily benefit better-off Americans. For example, individuals with very high medical bills that they pay for out-of-pocket receive a tax deduction, if they have enough income to make claiming the deduction worthwhile. Eighty percent of the \$2.5 billion in lost tax revenues resulting from such medical care deductions taken in 1982 went to persons with incomes of more than \$20,000. And in other cases employees can set aside pre-tax earnings under "flexible spending accounts," allowing them to pay for otherwise uncovered health care costs with untaxed dollars. The average tax bracket for persons with flexible spending accounts in 1986 was 36 percent.

According to Alain Enthoven, a leading health economist, when all tax breaks for private health insurance (including lost revenues resulting from the exclusion of employer-paid benefits in calculating income and payroll taxes) were added together, the total federal price tag came to \$50 billion in 1986, making this the second largest federal health program after Medicare and nearly twice as large as the federal share of Medicaid. This price tag does not even include the additional lost state tax dollars that result from parallel tax breaks in most states.

The employer-sponsored health insurance system works fairly well for families headed by parents who are employed in jobs with good fringe benefits. It meets much of the cost of major health care expenses for the employees and, to a lesser but considerable extent, their spouses and children.

But the system never has worked well for millions of low- and moderate-income families. First, it obviously excludes families with no currently employed members. Second, the system also excludes members of families—usually at the lower end of the wage scale—headed by parents whose employers do not offer their employees health insurance coverage as a fringe benefit. For example, 30 percent of all employers who pay the minimum wage to more than half their work force offer no health insurance. The system excludes children when employers either do not offer coverage to employees' dependents or offer it only at an unaffordable cost. As a result of these factors, a child living in a poor working family is only half as likely to have private insurance as a non-poor child.

Families without employer-paid insurance face a virtually impossible decision. They have a choice of going without insurance or buying coverage at far more costly and often unaffordable individual rates.

Given the cost of routine health care alone, compounded by the risk of a catastrophic illness with its huge costs, going without insurance is an untenable choice for a low- or moderate-income family. The family will not be able to afford to purchase the care it needs out-of-pocket.

For the family to purchase insurance on its own is also a virtual impossibility. For any poor or near-poor family, the costs are prohibitive. Today, the typical cost of purchasing a family health insurance plan directly from an insurer, rather than through the employer-based system with its lower group rates, is about \$3,500 per year. This is more than half the annual income of a full-time worker earning the minimum wage. Individually purchased policies are also far less likely than are group policies to cover services such as dental care and prescription drugs, or to provide a broad scope of hospitalization and physician benefits.

More families are facing this dilemma as more jobs are failing to provide health insurance at all and as those that do are shifting a substantial share of the cost onto the employees.

Between 1979 and 1984 the number of completely uninsured Americans grew from 26.2 million to 35 million—a one-third increase in just five years. Observers think these figures undoubtedly have worsened in the past three years and are likely to grow significantly worse in the future, in part because the factors underlying this increase are so entrenched.

The United States is witnessing a major shift in the type of jobs its economy provides, away from job growth in the manufacturing industries and toward growth in the service sector. Manufacturing jobs generally have greater levels of employer-paid fringe benefits, particularly health insurance. Service jobs, by contrast, are generally lower-paying and often part-time. These jobs, even if full-time, are significantly less likely to provide health insurance. To the extent that the American economy continues this shift, we may be witnessing the inexorable collapse of the employer-based insurance system and the resulting disinsurance of the middle class and their families over the long term.

Even employers that do offer health insurance have taken substantial steps in recent years to reduce their expenditures by cutting back on the amount that they will pay for their workers' coverage. One-third of employers reported in a recent nationwide survey that they had reduced contributions to their workers' (or their workers' dependents') annual insurance premiums, thus increasing the workers' share of premiums. This makes it more difficult for workers earning lower wages to continue insuring either themselves or their dependents. Between 1982 and 1983 alone, the proportion of employees with family coverage who were required to pay part of their premium cost rose from 40 percent to 50 percent. Even before this shift, in 1980, nearly one out of five employers paid no part at all of the premiums for coverage of dependents, leaving payment entirely up to employees.

Employees earning low wages cannot afford to participate if their share of the premium payments is high. Even at the peak of employer contributions to the cost of insurance, employers on the average paid only 75 percent of the premium cost, leaving the employee to shoulder 25 percent. Today, an employer-based group insurance family coverage plan can easily cost \$3,000 per year. For a minimum-wage employee in a plan requiring a 25 percent employee contribution, his or her share of the monthly premium—\$62.50—would represent 11 percent of the employee's gross pay. The employee's share of the

cost of family coverage is often unaffordably high for workers earning low wages, forcing them to leave their dependents uncovered.

As a result, children in poor working families are even more likely than their parents to be uninsured. While 60 percent of poor working adults have some private insurance, only about 50 percent of children in poor working families do. It has been estimated that more than 27 percent of all children who are uninsured live with a parent who is insured.

Even poor and near-poor children who are insured may be deterred from getting necessary care by employers' increasing use of deductibles and coinsurance—payments the family must first make in order to use the insurance. These payments, designed to cut employer costs and deter utilization of health services, tend to have an especially chilling effect on children's use of preventive and primary care.

Many employer-based plans also serve children poorly because the types of services they cover tend to be skewed to the needs of adults. The plans often do not include the routine and preventive medical and dental services that children more frequently need. Only 28 percent cover dental care, only 9 percent cover vision care, and only 6 percent cover routine health exams.

Medicaid, the Major Public Insurance Program for Families with Children, Is Covering Fewer Children

Medicaid, enacted in 1965, is the nation's largest public health financing program for families with children. Unlike Medicare, which provides almost universal coverage of the elderly without regard to income, Medicaid is not a program of universal or broad coverage. Rather, it is based on need. Eligibility depends on having extremely low income.

Because Medicaid is fundamentally an extension of America's patchwork of welfare programs, it makes coverage available primarily to families that receive welfare. With a few exceptions (including pregnant women and children younger than five with family incomes and resources below state-set Aid to Families with Dependent Children [AFDC] income and resource eligibility levels), individuals and families that do not receive either AFDC or Supplemental Security Income (SSI) are categorically excluded. For example, a working family consisting of a full-time working father, mother, and two children normally is excluded from Medicaid, even if the father is working at a minimum wage job with no health insurance and the family's income is well below the poverty line.

In addition to these restrictive eligibility categories, Medicaid excludes millions of poor families because of its financial eligibility standards, which for most families are tied to those of AFDC. In more than half the states, a woman with two children who earns the minimum wage (about two-thirds of the federal poverty level for a family of three in 1986) would find that she and her children are ineligible for coverage. By 1986, the combined impact of Medicaid's restrictive categorical and financial eligibility standards reduced the proportion of the poor and near-poor covered by the program to only 46 percent—down from 65 percent a decade earlier.

Medicaid has been under constant pressure from the Reagan Administration and its allies in Congress. Particularly in the 1981-1984 period, cuts in federal funds and changes in program rules led many states to reduce eligibility and provide fewer services to those who remained eligible. States have eliminated groups of recipients from coverage, placed limits on the number of hospital days or visits to the doctor for which they will pay (regardless of how ill the patient is), or reduced or frozen Medicaid provider reimbursement rates,

curtailing providers' willingness to serve Medicaid recipients and recipients' ability to receive appropriate, needed services. Further, the scope of medical services covered varies from state to state, providing inadequate coverage in many states.

As a result of improvements enacted by Congress in 1984 and 1986, there is some hope that the number of uninsured low-income pregnant women and children will be reduced somewhat in the next few years.

- The Deficit Reduction Act of 1984 mandated that states provide Medicaid coverage to all children younger than five with family incomes and resources below AFDC eligibility levels.
- The Deficit Reduction Act of 1984 and the Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986 together mandate coverage of all pregnant women with income and resources below state AFDC eligibility levels.
- The Sixth Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act, passed in late 1986, permits states at their option to extend automatic Medicaid coverage to pregnant women and children younger than five with family incomes less than the federal poverty level but in excess of the state AFDC eligibility levels.

If fully implemented in every state, these amendments will reduce by 36 to 40 percent the number of uninsured pregnant women and young children nationwide.

However, even if fully implemented, these new laws will not fill all of Medicaid's gaps. Medicaid still does not reach many low-income children after they turn five years old. Currently, twenty states continue to deny Medicaid to very poor children older than five who do not receive AFDC because they live with both parents. Neither do these new laws aid millions of uninsured, nonpregnant, poor parents, whether they are working or unemployed. The recent improvements are unlikely even to offset the years of stagnation and erosion that Medicaid has experienced.

Filling the gaps is a slow process. In FY 1985, Medicaid served 10.9 million children younger than twenty-one—more than 400,000 fewer than had been served in FY 1978. The lag occurred despite the fact that FY 1985 was the first year Deficit Reduction Act amendments were in effect and about a dozen states had enacted additional optional Medicaid child coverage improvements. And it occurred even though the number of children in poverty rose from 9.7 million to more than 12.5 million in the same period.

Gaps in the Public and Private Insurance Systems Leave Millions of Children Uninsured

Of all age groups, children are most affected by weaknesses in the public and private insurance systems. In 1984 children made up 25 percent of all Americans younger than sixty-five, but one-third of America's 35 million uninsured persons.

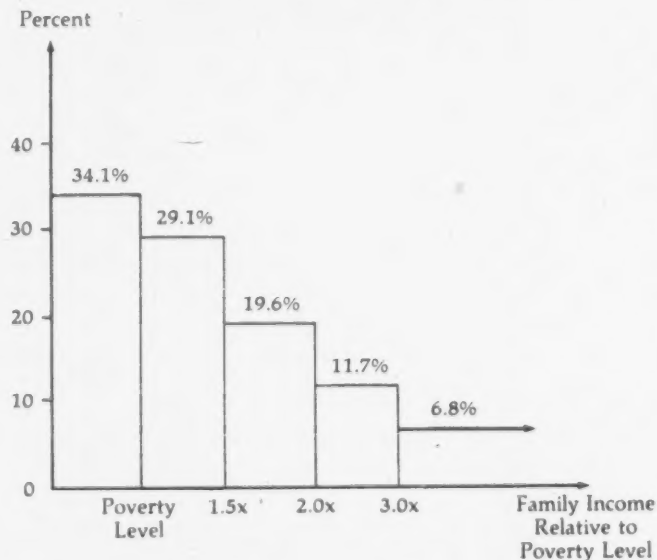
The uninsured are disproportionately poor, and include many working families as well. Medicaid's many gaps include a virtual exclusion of poor working families—a situation exacerbated by changes enacted by Congress and the Reagan Administration in 1981. As a result, a child in a poor working family is 1.8 times more likely to be completely uninsured than one in a poor non-working family. The majority of uninsured children live in families with a working parent or parents.

Robert and Rachel B live in Texas. Robert worked as an electrician for \$11,000 per year. He had no health insurance. Rachel was pregnant. Rachel had a complicated pregnancy and could not have a home birth. Although Robert worked and could have made small monthly payments on their bill, their lack of insurance meant that no local hospital would admit Rachel without a \$3,000 advance payment. The health center at which Rachel was receiving maternity care was forced to arrange her delivery at the Texas state hospital in Galveston, 400 miles away.

Robert withheld \$300 from his rent payment to get Rachel to Galveston. However, when they got to the hospital they were told by officials to return home because Rachel was not yet ready to deliver. When they returned home, Robert discovered that his employer had fired him because he left work to take his wife to the hospital, and that his landlord had thrown them out because he had used some of the rent to get his wife to Galveston. At this point—only when the B's had become totally indigent—Rachel became eligible for Medicaid. The same local hospitals that originally refused her then were willing to admit her.

While Medicaid has made a huge difference for poor families' access to health care in the past two decades, the proportion of poor children without any health insurance (public or private) still is more than three times that of

Percentage of Children in Each Family Income Group Who Are Uninsured, 1984



Source: Margaret Sulvetta and Katherine Swartz, *The Uninsured and Uncompensated Care*, Urban Institute, 1986.

children whose families' incomes exceed twice the poverty level. One-third of all poor children are completely uninsured and another third are insured for only a portion of each year. More than two-thirds of all uninsured children live in families with incomes less than 200 percent of the federal poverty level.

In addition to poverty, certain other characteristics describe groups of children who are disproportionately likely to be uninsured:

- **Children in single-parent households:** By 1984 one in five children lived in single-parent families, a figure that has been rising steadily since the 1950s. Such families are significantly more likely than two-parent families to be poor. Women and children living in families headed by single parents run two and one-half to three times the risk of being uninsured as children living in two-parent families.
- **Black children:** Because black children are more likely to be poor, they are also more likely to be uninsured. One in four black children, compared to one in six white children, is uninsured.

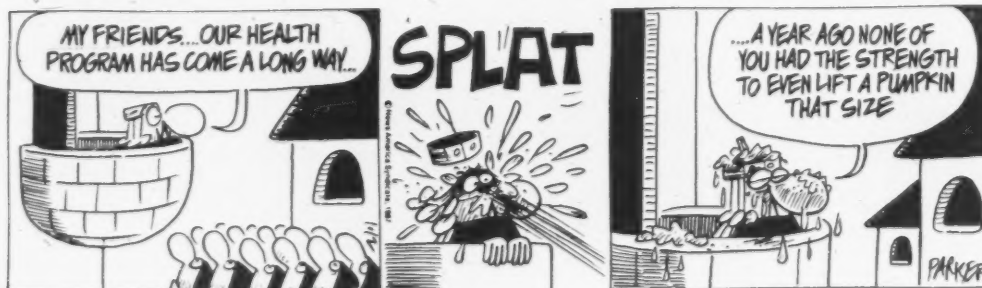
Thus, the American children most likely to be uninsured are among the nation's poorest and most vulnerable. Their families cannot compensate for the lack of health insurance coverage from an employer or the government. Not surprisingly, uninsured poor children are 40 percent less likely to receive needed health care, particularly preventive services, than are their insured counterparts.

Excellent Outpatient Public Health Programs Exist but Their Funding Is Too Small To Serve the Millions of Uninsured Americans

Low-income pregnant women and children who are eligible for neither private insurance nor Medicaid are completely dependent on a fragile and porous web of federal, state, and local public health programs, plus a rapidly eroding system of private "charity" care. Many of these programs are aimed at particular populations and are not intended to pick up the pieces from a deteriorating insurance system. Most have been harmed seriously since 1981 by

WIZARD OF ID

BY BRANT PARKER & JOHNNY HART



funding cuts or freezes that fail to take inflation into account. None is funded at a level that is adequate to serve the poor and uninsured who need care. All fall short of being able to meet the increased need that has occurred in the 1980s. But when looked at in terms of their core purposes and their results, the programs have been extremely successful.

The Title V Maternal and Child Health Block Grant

This federal grant program primarily funds clinics that provide free or reduced-cost basic maternity and pediatric care to millions of poor and near-poor women and children each year. The program also provides medical care to thousands of ill or handicapped children with special health care needs. In 1983, 235,000 pregnant women and millions of children were served by clinics and providers funded wholly or in part by Title V. Title V clinics have proven instrumental in reducing the incidence of death and disability among the women and children served.

Community and Migrant Health Centers

Nearly 800 federally funded Community and Migrant Health Centers served more than 5 million persons in 1985. Among those served, about two-thirds were children or women of childbearing age. Eighty percent had family incomes lower than 150 percent of the federal poverty level.

Title X Family Planning Programs

Family planning clinics funded by the Title X Family Planning program served more than 5 million women of childbearing age in 1985. Among the patients served, more than 80 percent have family incomes of less than 150 percent of the federal poverty level. The appropriate timing and spacing of pregnancies is crucial to maternal and child health. The family planning program, therefore, is vital not only because it has reduced the rate of unintended pregnancy (by an estimated 800,000 pregnancies in 1981 alone), but also because it has been a key factor in reducing infant mortality.

Immunizations

Federal immunization grants are used to purchase and administer life-saving vaccines to millions of American children. The history of this program—including its successes as well as its current funding shortfalls, illustrates the ups and downs common to vital federal public health programs.

Through the immunization program, we virtually have eradicated such fatal and crippling diseases as diphtheria, pertussis, congenital rubella, smallpox, and polio. Our nation has achieved a 99 percent reduction of these infectious diseases that previously led to suffering, permanent damage, and death.

The advent of the measles vaccine has caused a revolution in child health. Virtually every American child born before the mid-1960s contracted measles. In addition to the discomfort of the infection, which lasted one to two weeks, there was an added risk of such complications as ear infections, pneumonia, brain damage resulting from encephalitis, and death.

Instead of millions of cases each year, fewer than 2,000 to 3,000 cases have occurred annually in recent years through 1985. The vaccine has meant that 80,000 children who would have died in the past twenty years are healthy and thriving today because they did not acquire measles. Institutions serving children with severe mental retardation have had 80,000 fewer patients over the past two decades because of resulting reductions in the number of children suffering brain damage.

However, the nation's ability to maintain and expand its program of life-saving immunization now is threatened seriously. Over the years, about 50 percent of our childhood immunization program has been supported by the federal government. However, since 1980, costs to the government have risen dramatically:

- DPT (diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus) vaccine costs to the government rose from 11 cents per dose in 1980 to \$3.53 per dose by 1986—a price thirty-two times greater.
- Measles, mumps, or rubella vaccine costs to the program rose from \$2.71 per dose to \$8.47 per dose—more than a 200 percent increase.

Since, at best, the federal government buys only 50 percent of needed childhood vaccines, physicians and clinics have to supplement their supplies heavily through purchases. Inflation has been equally disastrous here.

Yet the federal immunization program has not even come close to keeping pace with these increases. Since 1982, the vaccine program has grown by only 166 percent—from \$28.2 million to \$75 million in FY 1987. The cost of fully immunizing a child went from \$6 in 1980 to more than \$30 in 1986—a 400 percent increase in costs in the face of the much smaller increase in the vaccine program. Prices are expected to rise another 50 percent in 1987.

In FY 1987, the \$75 million federal immunization grant program will fully vaccinate 2.5 million children if the \$30 per child cost holds. In 1980, that same amount of money would have vaccinated 12.5 million children. And we are beginning to see the effects of the failure of the federal program to keep pace. The number of children immunized by public programs has dropped by at least 20 percent for each of the past four years. From 1985 to 1986, the number of children catching measles rose from fewer than 3,000 to more than 6,000, a rate of increase more than twice the rate of increase of AIDS cases.

Federal Health Programs Have Been Cost-Effective and Have Improved Public Health

Like the immunization program, public health service programs combined with Medicaid and some public health efforts funded wholly with state and local revenues have been remarkably effective in the past two decades, particularly given their inadequate funding levels. They have played a major role in helping more poor mothers and children get health care. In 1963, prior to the creation in 1965 of programs such as Medicaid and Community Health Centers and the expansion beginning in 1963 of maternal and child health services under Title V, only 63 percent of pregnant women in America began prenatal care during the first trimester of pregnancy. By 1979, that figure had grown to 76 percent. Between 1964 and 1975, poor children increased their use of physician services by 74 percent, so that by the late 1970s, publicly insured low-income children were visiting physicians nearly as frequently as other children.

Predictably, the improved access to health care resulted in improvements in health. While overall infant mortality fell only 15 percent from 1950 to 1965, it fell 49 percent between 1965 and 1980. The death rate among black infants dropped 5 percent in the fifteen years before Medicaid was passed and more than 50 percent in the decade and a half that followed. Certain childhood illnesses, such as measles and pertussis, virtually disappeared as increasing numbers of children gained access to the doctors and clinics that could give them immunizations.

By averting more costly and serious health problems, these programs have proven cost-effective. Prenatal care saves money. Preventive care for children saves money. By providing such care, federal programs have saved huge sums for our society. And early care in the public health programs saves later expenditures in the same programs. Researchers have demonstrated that every dollar spent to provide comprehensive maternity care for Medicaid-eligible

pregnant women saves two Medicaid dollars in the first year of their babies' lives alone, because of reductions in low-birthweight rates and a consequent reduced need for hospital care. Ongoing preventive care for Medicaid-eligible children has cut program costs for children who need it by nearly 10 percent.

These federal programs have provided considerable and critical assistance to many of our very poorest families. Because of the programs' limited funding and often arbitrary eligibility rules, however, they are less effective than they could and should be.

During the 1970s, when many of the federal programs achieved their highest funding levels in real terms, they still reached only a fraction of the women and children who needed them. Since 1981, their effectiveness has been curbed severely by federal budget cuts. The Title V Maternal and Child Health Block Grant, Family Planning, and Migrant Health Center programs all are operating at funding levels below the amounts needed to maintain their services at 1981 levels; Community Health Centers are operating at levels that barely match those of 1981. After huge funding cuts in 1982, the funding levels in more recent years have risen, despite the Administration's objections. But in most health programs they have not climbed nearly enough to compensate for inflation, much less enough to restore the 1981 cuts.

The inadequacy of these programs leaves large areas of the nation and millions of women and children unserved. A 1986 CDF survey of maternity and pediatric services offered by state maternal and child health agencies revealed the following:

- While forty-eight states reported offering publicly subsidized maternity care programs, in only thirteen were services available statewide. In only one was there enough funding to serve even that state's very modest target population (uninsured women with family incomes at or below eligibility levels for WIC—the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children).
- Only twenty-three states paid for hospital deliveries for even selected categories of uninsured women, although twenty-eight states admitted that hospitals within their borders have turned away uninsured pregnant women in labor. Another twenty-three reported that hospitals refuse to arrange in advance for delivery services for uninsured women who cannot pay a preadmission deposit (either all or part of the bill).
- Only forty-six states reported that public pediatric clinics were available, and of these only thirteen maintained such clinics on a statewide basis. In no state were comprehensive health services (for both well child and sick child care) available statewide. Only two states covered any hospital care for uninsured sick children other than for a small number of children with selected medical conditions, who are known as children with special health care needs. Conditions commonly *excluded* from state programs for children with special health care needs (formerly known as state crippled children's programs) include such serious ones as sickle cell anemia, cancer, diabetes, and asthma.

National Maternal and Child Health Indicators Show Serious Health Problems Among Poor and Minority Pregnant Women and Children

The widespread disinsurance of children and the erosion of public health programs, along with high levels of child poverty, have been accompanied by a

**Surgeon General's 1990 Goals
Fact Sheet for the Nation**

	1984 Rate	Average rate change per year 1978-84	Average rate change needed per year to reach the 1990 Goal
Infant Mortality*			
Total	10.8	-0.50	-0.30
White	9.4	-0.43	-0.07
Nonwhite	16.1	-0.85	-0.68
Black	18.4	-0.78	-1.07
Neonatal Mortality*			
Total	7.0	-0.42	-0.08
Postneonatal Mortality*			
Total	3.8	-0.08	-0.22
Low Birthweight**			
Total	6.7	-0.07	-0.28
White	5.6	-0.05	-0.10
Nonwhite	11.1	-0.13	-0.35
Black	12.4	-0.08	-0.57
Early Prenatal Care**			
Total	76.5	0.27	2.25
White	79.6	0.23	1.73
Nonwhite	64.1	0.45	4.32
Black	62.2	0.33	4.63

**Progress Toward Meeting the Surgeon General's
1990 Objectives for the Nation**

	All Races	White	Black	Nonwhite	Total
Infant Mortality*					
Change 1983-1984	-0.40	-0.30	-0.80		-0.70
Projected Change Needed 1983-1984	-0.31	-0.10	-1.03		-0.69
	All Races	White		Nonwhite	
Low Birthweight**					
Change 1983-1984	-0.10	-0.10		-0.30	
Projected Rate Change Needed 1983-1984	-0.26	-0.10		-0.34	
Early Prenatal Care**					
Change 1983-1984	+0.30	+0.20		+0.70	
Projected Rate Change Needed 1983-1984	+1.97	+1.51		+3.80	

*Per 1,000 live births.

**Per 100.

virtual standstill in the nation's progress on key maternal and child health indicators.

This stagnation in maternal and infant health improvements means that the nation will not meet most of the maternal and infant health goals set by the Surgeon General of the United States. In 1979, the Surgeon General established a series of Objectives for the Nation, including several goals in the area of maternity care. These objectives, which were reaffirmed by the Reagan Administration in 1984, include the following:

- By 1990, infant mortality should be no more than nine deaths per 1,000 live births, and no racial or ethnic subgroup or county should have a rate that exceeds twelve.
- By 1990, no more than 5 percent of infants should be born at low birthweight, and no racial or ethnic subgroup should have a level higher than 9 percent.
- By 1990, 90 percent of all pregnant women should begin prenatal care in the first three months of pregnancy.

It is clear that at recent rates of progress the nation will not meet the above goals and that many individual states actually are moving in the wrong direction.

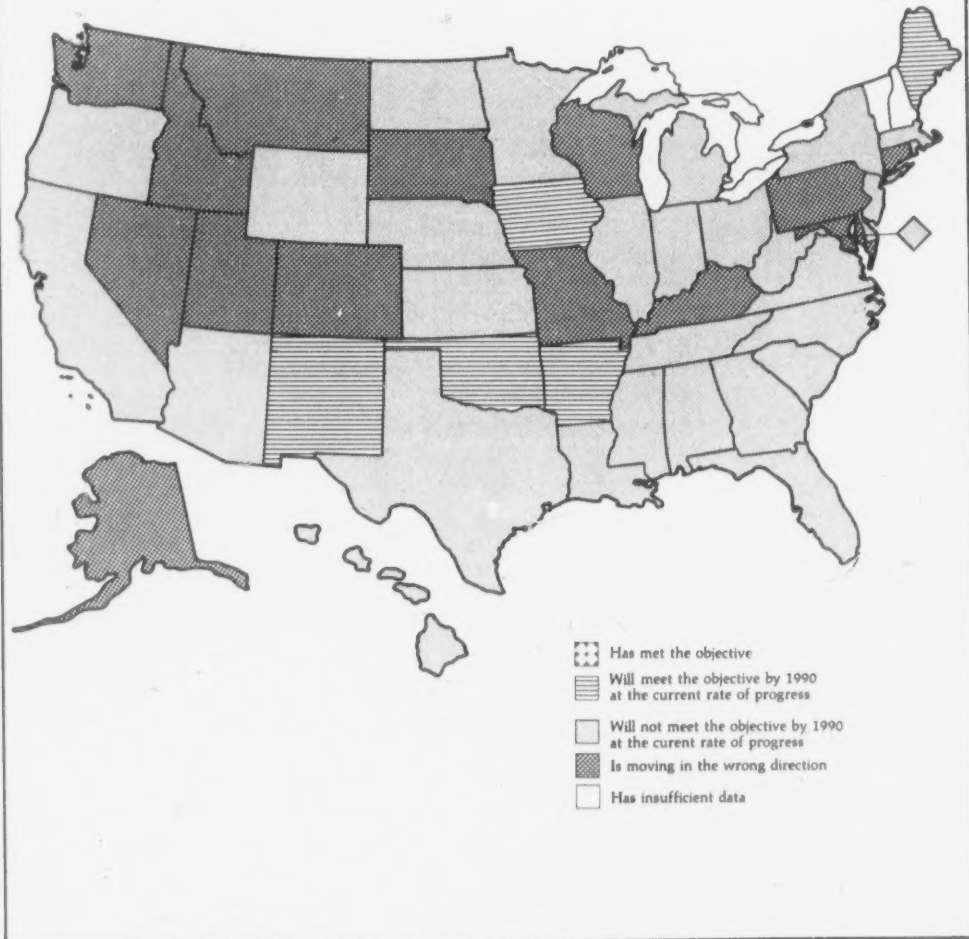
Infant Mortality

- The Department of Health and Human Services found in December 1986 that "based on progress to date, achievement of this objective [infant mortality] is questionable. Applying the 1983-85 rate of decline (9 percent) to the final 1983 figure yields a projected rate in 1990 of 9.2 per 1,000," which is more than the 9.0 goal. The objective definitely will not be met for key racial and ethnic subgroups. The Surgeon General's objective for infant mortality among racial and ethnic subgroups will not be met nationally for blacks.
- Twenty-two of the thirty-four states with measurable numbers of black infant deaths in 1984 will not meet the infant mortality objective for black infants. These are Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Two additional states, Washington and Wisconsin, actually are moving in the wrong direction.
- Thirteen states (Alabama, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Virginia, and Wyoming) will not meet the overall infant mortality objective.
- Many cities and substate regions will not meet the goal.

Neonatal and Postneonatal Mortality

- While the nation will meet the Surgeon General's neonatal mortality goal, and while states' progress in reducing neonatal mortality (deaths in the first twenty-eight days of life) generally has been adequate, five states (the District of Columbia, Georgia, South Carolina, Michigan, and Virginia) will not meet the goal.

Progress Toward the Postneonatal Mortality Goal, All Races, 1984



- The United States will not meet the Surgeon General's goal for postneonatal mortality (deaths between twenty-eight days and one year). Forty-four states with sufficient postneonatal deaths to measure their rates of progress also will fail to meet the goal. Fourteen states actually are moving in the wrong direction.

Low Birthweight

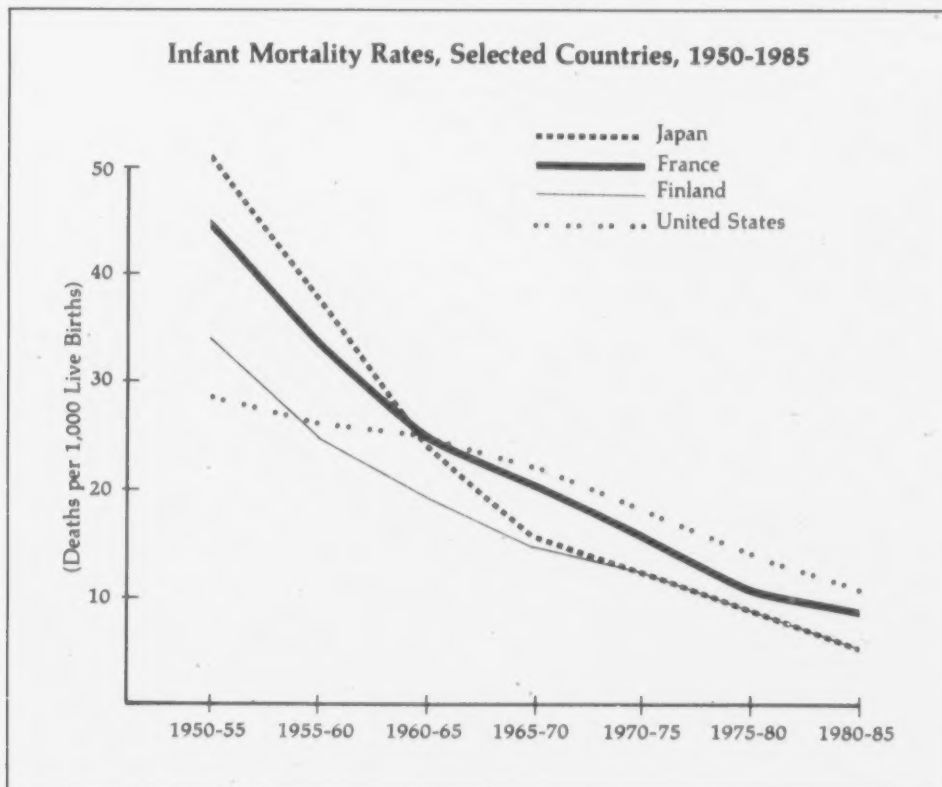
- The nation will not meet the Surgeon General's overall objective for low-birthweight births and will not meet the goal for black infants.

- Six states are moving in the wrong direction with respect to low birthweight.
- Only seventeen states will meet the low birthweight goal for white infants.
- Only fifteen of the forty-two states with sufficient numbers of black births to compute trends will reach the low birthweight goal. Ten states (Arizona, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, North Carolina, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia) actually are moving in the wrong direction.

Prenatal Care

- The nation will not meet the Surgeon General's objective on early prenatal care.
- No state will reach the prenatal care goal at its current rate of progress. Ten states are moving in the wrong direction. These are Connecticut, District of Columbia, Maryland, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, and Washington State.

In the face of stagnating infant health indicators, the United States' international position among twenty industrialized nations with comparable vital statistics reporting systems has deteriorated dramatically: from a sixth



place ranking on infant mortality between 1950 and 1955 to a tie for last place by the 1980-1985 period. The United States was surpassed by nations such as Spain and France, which had far higher mortality rates thirty-five years ago than did the United States.

The human and financial cost of this stagnation and erosion in infant health is staggering. The black infant mortality rate is almost twice the white rate. If the black rate had been reduced as low as the white rate, 5,309 more black babies would have lived in 1984. Our nation's failure to meet the Surgeon General's 1990 goals means we will experience 300,000 more low-birthweight births between 1978 and 1990 than would have occurred had the goals been met. The hospital costs of caring for these additional low-birthweight infants in their first year alone will be more than \$2 billion by the end of this decade—enough to provide the following:

- 60,109,443 WIC monthly supplemental food packages;
- Comprehensive prenatal care to 3,187,000 women;
- Comprehensive maternity care (including delivery costs) to 701,277 women; or
- Comprehensive basic pediatric care to 4,207,661 additional infants and children.

These excess costs do not take into account the long-term medical, educational, social, and other services that the low-birthweight babies will need, nor their lost productivity to the nation.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1988

Medicaid

- The Administration proposes to cut projected Medicaid outlays by \$1.3 billion in FY 1988 (and by a total of \$20.2 billion in the five years through FY 1992) by placing a ceiling on federal Medicaid outlays. Federal spending would be capped and growth in future years would be limited to adjustments for medical inflation. No adjustments would be made for growth in the number of eligible persons or an increased level of services.

This proposal, which has been rejected three times by Congress, would reduce funding for Medicaid significantly at a time when the number of uninsured Americans, many of whom are low-income children, parents, and pregnant women, has grown. The Administration proposal would make it difficult or impossible for a state to get federal matching funds to help some of these uninsured persons by improving coverage and picking up new coverage options Congress has passed.

- The Administration also proposes development of an \$85 million Medicaid case management program to aid pregnant beneficiaries who are at high risk of having low-birthweight infants. This expenditure would be dwarfed, however, by the overall \$1.3 billion Medicaid funding reduction, which effectively could preclude states from increasing the number of pregnant women they would cover or from strengthening and improving the scope of medical services they would cover for pregnant women under their plans.

Moreover, the \$85 million would come from a proposed reduction in current federal Medicaid matching rates for family planning services (a special higher funding rate applies to encourage states to provide such services), thereby diminishing the pool of funding available to Medicaid beneficiaries for family planning. Because appropriately timed and spaced pregnancies are key to reducing infant mortality and low-birthweight births, the Administration's proposal, in effect, "robs Peter to pay Paul" by cutting one infant mortality reduction strategy in order to fund another.

- The Administration proposes to reduce dramatically Medicaid funding for the "non-emergency" services provided by hospital emergency rooms, regardless of whether other, non-emergency room providers are available and whether beneficiaries can get comparable care within a reasonable travel time. This could cause states and hospitals to deter recipient use of hospital services that may be the primary service delivery mechanism to which they have access.

Title V Maternal and Child Health Block Grant

The Administration proposes in FY 1988 to freeze appropriations for Title V at FY 1987 levels (which haven't risen since FY 1985) at a time when the decline in infant mortality rates has ground to a virtual halt, when the high rate of women delivering babies without having received any or timely prenatal care has failed to improve for the fifth consecutive year, and when nearly 9 million poor and near-poor children have no health insurance.

Community and Migrant Health Centers

The Administration proposes to freeze funding for Community Health Centers and Migrant Health Centers at FY 1987 levels, even though 20 million Americans still live in areas that are medically unserved and that lack health centers.

Immunizations

The President's budget proposes to increase funding for the immunization grant program in FY 1988 by only \$6 million over the FY 1987 funding level of \$75 million. The Department of Health and Human Services states that "funds in the [budget] request are sufficient to purchase in 1988 the same number of vaccine doses as were provided in 1987." However, the 1987 funding level is only a fraction of the amount needed to ensure all children access to complete immunizations. The number of children immunized by public programs has dropped by 20 percent or more for each of the past four years, and the Administration proposes no effort to reverse this trend.

Family Planning

The Administration proposes transforming the Title X Family Planning Program into a block grant and reducing funding by \$2 million below the FY 1987 funding level of \$146 million. Congress has rejected similar Administration proposals every year since 1981.

Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC)

The Administration's request of only \$1.7 billion for WIC in FY 1988 is below FY 1987 levels and will result in 50,000 fewer women, infants, and

children receiving the program's benefits each month. Current funding levels for WIC already are so inadequate that nationally only 40 percent of all eligible women and children are served.

CDF Recommendations

New goals must be established if the nation is to achieve an acceptable level of improvement in infant and child health. These new goals cannot consist simply of improved health outcomes but also must include the programmatic commitments that can make these goals a reality. And we must recognize that new expenditures to meet these programmatic commitments should be measured against what they will save the nation over the long term—in money and in human suffering.

CDF recommends at a minimum that by 1992 at the latest:

- No woman or child who is eligible for supplemental nutrition assistance under the WIC program should go without these benefits. For this reason, CDF's Legislative Agenda calls for sufficient funding to increase participation rates substantially for each of the next five years, so that by 1992 all eligible needy women and children are served.
- All families should have access to affordable, adequate health insurance. CDF's Legislative Agenda calls for the first phases of such a program. In FY 1988 CDF's Legislative Agenda would permit states to extend Medicaid to all members of families and all individuals living below the federal poverty level, rather than only young children and pregnant women. For FY 1989, we propose that states would begin phasing in a program under which uninsured moderate-income families with incomes above the federal poverty level would be able to purchase Medicaid for a premium that would vary according to a family's ability to pay. CDF recommends that within the next ten years this program be instituted nationwide for all individuals and families without group health coverage. Funding would come from a series of sources, including individual premiums, general revenues, and dedicated taxes, such as a small employer payroll tax and a surtax on all group health insurance plans.
- No medically underserved area of the country should be without community and migrant health centers or maternity and pediatric health service delivery programs. For this reason, the CDF Legislative Agenda recommends sufficient funding increases over the next five years to permit development of health centers and Title V Maternal and Child Health projects in all underserved areas.
- All children should be adequately immunized against all preventable childhood diseases. CDF's Legislative Agenda recommends prompt implementation of the national Childhood Vaccine Injury Act in order to better control the price of vaccines, as well as conversion (over the next five years) of the childhood immunization program into an entitlement program.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Health: Funding and Budget Requests, FY1981-FY1988
(in millions of dollars)

	MCH Block Grant	Community Health Centers	Migrant Health Centers	Family Planning	Immunization
FY1981 actual	\$456.7	\$323.0	\$43.2	\$161.7	\$31.0
FY1982 proposed	347.5	— ¹	— ¹	— ¹	— ¹
FY1982 actual	373.8	281.2	38.2	124.2	34.6
FY1983 proposed	347.5	— ¹	— ¹	— ¹	28.9
FY1983 actual	373.0	295.0	38.1	124.0	39.0
FY1984 proposed	373.0	— ¹	— ¹	— ¹	41.9
FY1984 actual	398.0	337.0	42.0	140.0	41.9
FY1985 proposed	407.0	— ¹	— ¹	— ¹	46.0
FY1985 actual	478.0	375.0	45.3	142.0	54.0
FY1986 proposed	478.0	— ¹	— ¹	— ¹	54.0
FY1986 actual	478.0	400.0	45.4	143.0	57.0
After Gramm-Rudman	457.0	396.0	40.9	136.8	56.9
FY1987 proposed	478.0	— ¹	— ¹	— ¹	56.0
FY1987 actual	478.0	400.0	45.4	142.5	87.3
FY1988 proposed	478.0	400.0	45.4	— ¹	94.0
	FY1988 Current Policy	FY1988 Proposed	Change from Current Policy	Percent Change	
Medicaid	\$28,120.0	\$26,864.0 ²	\$-1,256.0	-4.5	

¹Proposed to repeal, include in block grant; funding would have been cut by 25 percent in FY1982, increased by less than 1 percent in FY1983, and remained level for FY1984; the block grant proposed for FY1985 would have shown a slight increase of 2.2 percent; the block grant proposed for FY1986 would have been funded at FY1985 levels; the block grant proposed for FY1987 would have been funded \$26.2 million below these programs' FY1986 pre-Gramm-Rudman level and \$8 million below the FY1985 level; the block grant proposed for FY1988 would include the Family Planning Program and previously separate administrative costs; the combined amount (\$146.0 million) would be cut by \$2.0 million.

²The Administration proposes to use \$85 million of the \$1.3 billion in Medicaid reductions for FY1988 to fund an infant mortality reduction initiative.

6. FAMILY INCOME

Every child needs and deserves to grow up healthy, with adequate food, clothing, shelter, heat, and medical care. Childhood should be a time of exploration, growth, and joy, with the security of knowing that, however financially pressed they are, parents can put food on the table and a roof over their children's heads.

Yet we are failing to provide this most basic security to many of America's children. In 1985 more than 12 million children—more than one out of every five children—lived in families with incomes below the poverty line (the bare-bones level the federal government estimates is necessary to meet a family's minimal subsistence needs), \$8,573 for a family of three in 1985. More than 40 percent of poor children in 1984 and 1985 lived in families whose incomes were less than half of the poverty line. In 1979, by contrast, significantly fewer children—fewer than 10 million—lived in poverty, and the very poorest group made up a considerably smaller proportion of children in poverty: 34.9 percent of the poor children lived below one-half of the poverty line.

The child poverty rate is higher than at any time since the early 1960s. From 1979 to 1982 more than 3 million children fell into poverty. Further, only 656,000 children were lifted out of poverty in 1983, 1984, and 1985—three years of economic recovery. At the rate of improvement that took place in those three years (and assuming we have no more recessions), it would take fifteen years—nearly a generation of children—just to get down to the already high numbers of poor children that the nation experienced in 1979.

The average poor family today is dropping further and further beneath the level of income that federal poverty guidelines say poor families need to subsist. From 1975 to 1985, adjusting for inflation, the amount that the average poor family's actual income dropped below the poverty line increased 27 percent. By 1985 the median income of poor families was \$3,785 below poverty.

In theory, our nation has a "safety net" designed to ease the plight of poverty. In fact, we have an inadequate patchwork made up of many different programs. Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the major cash assistance program for poor families with children, helped 10.9 million recipients in June 1986. Supplemental Security Income (SSI), a federally funded

cash assistance program for the poor aged, blind, and disabled, helped 4.2 million individuals in August 1986. Social Security, the non-means-tested insurance program that provides benefits to disabled and retired workers and their dependents, as well as to both poor and non-poor survivors of deceased workers, helped 37.3 million beneficiaries in May 1986. Federal and state unemployment benefits (also not restricted to poor applicants) helped 2.5 million individuals in May 1986.

Other programs—food stamps, Medicaid, the Low Income Heating and Energy Assistance Program, the Title XX Social Services Block Grant, the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC), Veterans' Benefits, Railroad Retirement, housing assistance, the Job Training Partnership Act, and the Emergency Assistance program—help some needy families meet their most basic needs. And, in a major improvement in the federal government's tax treatment of poor families, the Tax Reform Act of 1986 beginning in 1988 will both exempt virtually all poor working families with children from the payment of federal income taxes and provide them with a refund of some or all of their Social Security payroll taxes through the Earned Income Tax Credit.

Despite the length of this list, however, the help provided by these programs never has been enough to keep many families from destitution. In recent years, as some programs have been cut back and others have failed to keep pace with inflation, the federal patchwork has become increasingly inadequate in meeting families' needs.

While making insufficient efforts to ease the symptoms of poverty, our nation has no real plan to address its root causes. Four major factors have been pushing more and more children and families into poverty:

- *Children are poor because of persistently high joblessness among parents.* Unemployment continues at historically high levels for a period that is more than three years into an "economic recovery." Roughly 8 million Americans are still unemployed. Another 5.6 million Americans (up from 3.5 million in 1979) are forced to work part time because they cannot find full-time jobs, and 1.1 million are not counted as unemployed but aren't working and have stopped looking for work because job prospects are too bleak.
- *Children are poor because many parents who are working cannot earn high enough wages to escape poverty.* Parents of poor children generally are working or trying to work. Research by Sheldon Danziger and Peter Gottschalk of the Institute for Research on Poverty found that roughly two-thirds of heads of poor households who were expected to work (those who were not disabled, elderly, or single parents nurturing small children) did work either full time or part time during all or part of 1984.

But for more and more families, a paycheck is not enough to stay out of poverty. Some of the most dramatic increases in poverty since 1979 have occurred among the working poor. The number of working-age people who worked but remained poor was 9.1 million in 1985—an increase of 40 percent since 1979. One major reason for this increase is that the minimum wage has not kept pace with inflation, creating a dramatic drop in real wages for hourly workers who earn the minimum wage. Another is that larger numbers of hourly workers have low-wage jobs that do not produce enough income to lift their families out of poverty.

- *Children are poor because of changing family demographics, including the growth in the number of female-headed households.* Between 1970 and 1984, although the birth rate among women dropped significantly, the proportion of births that were out-of-wedlock increased significantly, especially among white women. The divorce rate also increased. As a result of these trends, one in every five American children now lives in a female-headed household.

Children living in female-headed families in 1985 were more than four times as likely to be poor as those living in other families, although almost half of poor children still live in two-parent families. About half of all poor, able-bodied mothers with children six or older work at some point during the year. But women's earning power is still dramatically lower than men's: Gottschalk and Danziger found that the weekly earnings in 1984 of 44.9 percent of able-bodied female heads of households with children older than six were so low that they did not meet the poverty line for a family of four, while only 21.1 percent of comparably situated men earned this little. Moreover, these working mothers must deduct from their earnings whatever it costs them for the child care they need in order to work.

Divorce or failure to form a two-parent family often spells economic disaster for the custodial parent. Single parents who cannot support their children without help often get little, if any, assistance from the absent parent. Too frequently these children are denied the child support due them, or are paid hopelessly inadequate amounts.

- *Children are poor because the federal safety net has been shredded.* Since 1981 the Reagan Administration systematically has tried to dismantle federal programs for the poor. Few programs have been eliminated, but the effects of the \$10 billion annual cut from national survival programs for poor families and children, passed in 1981, continue.

These cuts have exacerbated the problem of poverty among families with children. An analysis by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities of data from recent census reports covering the 1979 to 1985 period shows that 30 percent of the increase in poverty among families with children since 1979 (and half of the increase since 1981) is due to the declining help government programs give in removing families from poverty. In 1979 nearly one of every five families with children that otherwise would have been poor was lifted out of poverty by cash benefits such as Social Security, unemployment insurance, or public assistance. The comparable figure for 1985 was only one out of every nine families. The center's research shows the decline in the anti-poverty impact of government benefits programs is even greater if the value of certain non-cash benefits is included.

After the initial and devastating cutbacks in 1981, congressional willingness to make further cuts has waned. While there have been some subsequent—and harmful—changes since 1981, there also have been some partial restorations.

In this chapter, we look at how federal action (or inaction) in the areas of employment, child support, and public assistance programs is keeping children and families in poverty. We then explore what can be done to better address their needs for adequate income and other supports.

Full-Time Jobs Are Not Available for Many Who Need Them, But the Federal Government Has Abandoned Its Efforts To Help Create Jobs

Although the Reagan Administration has touted the nation's recovery from the 1981-1982 recession, claiming that it has produced record numbers of new jobs, millions of Americans continue to be jobless. In fact, job growth from the end of the recession through December 1986 has been somewhat weak by historical standards, with jobs increasing at a rate 19 percent less than in a comparable period following the 1974-1975 recession. If employment growth during the current recovery had been equal to the earlier rate, nearly 3 million additional jobs would have been created between November 1982 and December 1986.

In the past, the federal government responded to persistent unemployment by making direct efforts to expand employment opportunities. During the late 1970s, through the public service jobs component of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) and the Youth Employment Demonstration Projects Act, federal programs provided as many as 1 million jobs annually to unemployed adults and youths. Some of these efforts provoked controversy, and a combination of rapid expansion and frequent legislative changes in these programs led to charges in the early 1980s of program mismanagement. But instead of moving to strengthen and improve these essential federal programs, the Reagan Administration has chosen to abdicate completely the federal role in direct job creation.

Amid sluggish economic growth and the failure of the federal government to create jobs, far too many Americans cannot find work to support themselves and their families. Roughly 8 million individuals were officially counted as unemployed in December 1986. But this widely publicized unemployment count does not tell the whole story of unemployment and underemployment in America.

A second group of jobless Americans, who do not appear in the official unemployment rate, are so-called "discouraged workers"—those who want to work but have stopped actively searching for jobs because they believe that employment prospects are too bleak. Their number has jumped by nearly 50 percent since 1979, and now stands at 1.1 million.

Third, among those counted as employed, growing numbers who want to work full time are forced to accept part-time employment. The ranks of part-time workers who would prefer but cannot get full-time work have swelled from 3.5 million in 1979 to 5.6 million in late 1986, an increase of 60 percent. Part-time employment has provided nearly 30 percent of total job growth since 1979, and three-fourths of these part-time jobs have been accepted reluctantly by individuals wanting but unable to find full-time work. For many workers whose part-time status is involuntary, the lack of full-time work directly threatens their ability to support a family.

This Administration apparently is willing to tolerate the intolerable: economic conditions that consign close to 15 million Americans to complete or partial joblessness. During previous periods of recovery, the official unemployment rate fell to levels between 3.5 percent and 5.8 percent. But since the 1950s, the level of unemployment after each recession has been higher than in the previous recovery period. As of January 1987, the national unemployment rate had exceeded 6.5 percent for eighty-two months, or nearly seven years. These high levels of joblessness have persisted longer than at any time since the Great Depression. Even the Reagan Administration's own optimistic projections of future economic performance do not show the unemployment rate falling below 6 percent before 1990.

Real Wage Levels for Many Workers Have Declined, and Better-Paying Jobs Have Become Increasingly Scarce

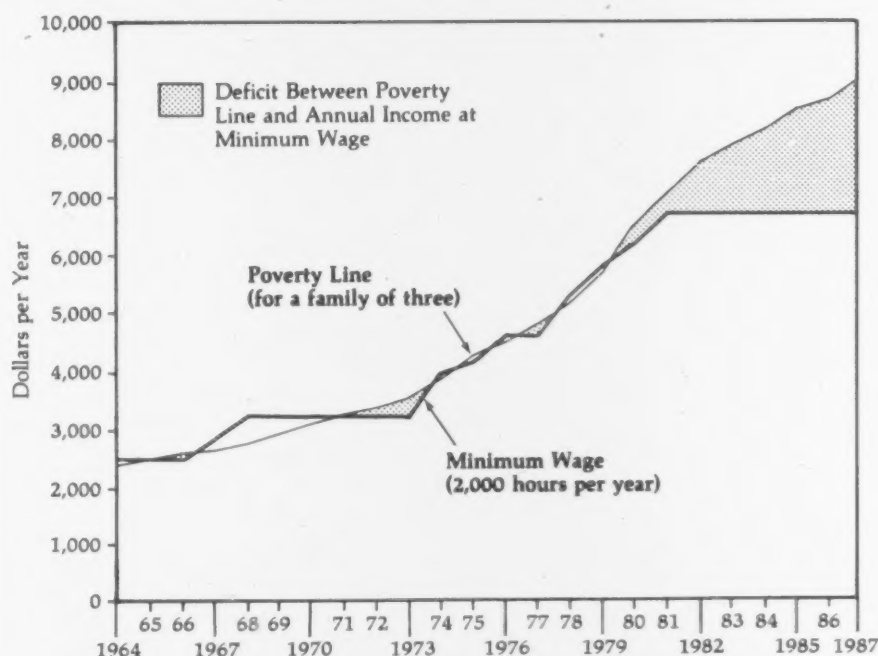
Unemployment and underemployment are not, however, the only sources of declining real earnings among American workers. The dramatic erosion of the real value of the minimum wage and structural shifts in the national economy are undermining the standard of living for many more Americans and posing additional barriers to self-sufficiency for low-income workers and their families.

Employment growth during the 1980s has been dominated by low-paying jobs. Since 1979 more than half of all jobs added to the economy paid less than \$7,000 per year (in 1984 dollars), according to a recent study by economists Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison. During the 1973-1979 period, only one in five new jobs paid wages at such inadequate levels.

A portion of this growth in low-paying jobs can be traced to increases in part-time or intermittent employment. Yet even among a narrower category—full-time, year-round workers—more than one in five new jobs created between 1979 and 1984 paid less than \$7,000 a year. During the 1973-1979 period, in contrast, virtually all new jobs in this category provided earnings above this level.

The decline in the number of jobs providing adequate wages also is reflected in the far greater numbers of hourly workers who are paid wages that cannot support families. In 1979, 2.8 million of the Americans who were paid hourly wages earned less than \$2.90 per hour, leaving them unable to lift a

Lagging Incomes: The Poverty Line vs. the Minimum Wage, 1964-1987



spouse and only one child above the poverty line through full-time, year-round work. By 1985, because of inflation, a worker would have needed \$4.30 per hour to equal 1979's \$2.90. The government does not keep data on workers earning less than \$4.30, but it does tell us that more than 10.6 million hourly workers earned less than \$4 per hour in 1985.

One important reason more low-income workers are having a harder time making ends meet has been the Reagan Administration's failure to raise the federal minimum wage to keep pace with inflation. As recently as 1979, earnings from full-time, year-round work at the minimum wage were sufficient to raise a family of three above the poverty line. But because the minimum wage has not been increased since President Reagan took office, a minimum wage job in 1987 provides earnings that are less than three-fourths of what is needed to lift a three-person household out of poverty.

Structural changes in the nation's economy also have fueled recent increases in low-wage employment. Since 1979 nearly 80 percent of all new jobs created have been in wholesale and retail trades or in the service sector, while the nation has lost 2 million manufacturing jobs. These employment shifts have pulled wage levels down sharply: the average retail trade job pays less than half as much as the average manufacturing job, and average earnings in the entire service sector (including many higher-paid positions) equal only two-thirds of those in manufacturing.

As a result of part-time or intermittent employment and declining real wage levels, the ranks of the working poor have increased dramatically. Roughly 6.4 million Americans worked but still lived in poor households in 1985, and more than 8 million children living in those same households remained poor despite the work-related earnings of household members. The number of workers employed full time, year-round but still unable to escape poverty totaled 2.1 million in 1984, an increase of more than 50 percent since 1979.

These data refute the notion that the poor suffer because they are unwilling to work. As mentioned previously, Danziger and Gottschalk have estimated that more than two-thirds of all heads of poor households who were expected to work were employed either part time or full time during at least part of 1984. In addition, 80 percent of men who headed poor households and who were not elderly or disabled held jobs for some part of that year.

Young workers who are starting out in the job market have been hit particularly hard by dwindling opportunities to work and earn a decent wage. The real incomes of all males ages twenty to twenty-four dropped by 33 percent between 1973 and 1984. Average annual incomes for black males in this age group fell by 44 percent in real terms.

These plummeting real incomes have reduced sharply the number of young men earning enough to support even a small family. Only 48 percent of white men and 27 percent of black men between ages twenty and twenty-four earned enough to support a wife and one child above poverty in 1984. In contrast, 64 percent of white males and 57 percent of black males in this age group could support a family of three in 1973.

While much poverty is being blamed on the rising number of single-parent families, unemployment and low wages are in significant part responsible for that rise. With declining numbers of young men, and so few young black men in particular, able to earn even poverty-level incomes, young people now are far less likely to marry and form families than they were a decade ago. Between 1974 and 1985, marriage rates for all twenty- to twenty-four-year-olds declined by 46 percent. Among blacks in this age group, marriage rates fell by 62 percent. This decline is one of the important factors resulting in substantial increases in out-of-wedlock birth rates during this period.

The Unemployment Insurance Program No Longer Provides a Safety Net for Most Jobless Americans

Since the 1930s most Americans have counted on the unemployment insurance (UI) system to cushion the financial impact of an unexpected job loss. And until the early 1980s the UI program filled this role reasonably well. But eligibility restrictions and labor market changes have undermined seriously the effectiveness of this safety net program for jobless individuals and their families.

The great majority of workers still are employed in jobs that are part of the unemployment insurance system, but fewer of those workers actually qualify for benefits when they lose their jobs. In December 1986 only 35 percent of all unemployed workers received any UI benefits. In contrast, more than two-thirds of all unemployed persons obtained this assistance in May 1975. Even as recently as 1980, nearly half of all unemployed workers received help through the UI system.

Many jobless Americans cannot qualify for UI benefits because they have not worked long or steadily enough at their previous places of employment. The UI program is financed through federal and state payroll taxes on employers, and eligibility typically is restricted to workers who have been employed during two of the previous four quarters, with the amount of weekly benefits based on a percentage of prior wages.

Other jobless individuals are not receiving UI benefits because they have been unemployed for longer than the benefits last. Except during periods of very high unemployment in a state as a whole, assistance through UI to an individual is limited to a maximum of twenty-six weeks, even if that person's jobless spell is substantially longer.

In recent years, extensions in help for those unemployed for longer periods have been curtailed sharply. To reduce the budget in 1981, the President and Congress raised the state unemployment rates that are necessary to trigger extended UI benefits in a state. The trigger is now so high that an additional thirteen weeks of benefits to the jobless are provided only in Alaska and Louisiana. In addition, authorization for the Federal Supplemental Compensation program, federally funded aid to unemployed individuals who had exhausted all other UI support, was allowed to expire in 1985.

The UI system is particularly ineffective in helping the more economically vulnerable segments of the unemployed population, including young parents, women, and minorities. Because eligibility for unemployment benefits is based on work experience and wage levels during the previous year, jobless young parents, women, and minorities are considerably less likely than their older, male, or white counterparts to collect UI benefits. For example, young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four accounted for one-third of all unemployed persons but only one-sixth of all UI recipients in 1983, the most recent year for which such data are available.

For half a century the UI program has represented an effective response to the income needs of many unemployed workers, especially those who worked in steady, well-paying manufacturing jobs with occasional layoffs. The failure of the federal government to adapt the program to the economics and demographics of the 1980s and 1990s, however, is leaving the program increasingly ill-equipped to cope with the realities of unemployment.

Child Support: A Limited Resource that Falls Far Short of Meeting Families' Needs

Single-parent families, even when the parent is employed, are particularly likely to live in poverty or slightly above the poverty line. For many of the 8.7 million families in which the mothers are raising children without fathers present, child support could provide a critical economic margin. For some families, it is helping a little; for many more, however, child support is a failed promise.

As of 1983, the last year for which full data are available, only 76 percent of all those families that were supposed to receive support received any payments at all. Of those with court-ordered payments (as opposed to voluntary agreements) only 40 percent received the full amount due; 32 percent received zero.

The average actual child support payment for two children in 1983 was \$2,163 per year. This was equal to only about one-third of the resources needed to meet the two children's most basic needs that year (if one assumes that each child's subsistence needs required at least one-third of the federal poverty level for a family of three).

Even when paid in full, child support alone usually cannot lift families out of poverty. A 1986 Census Bureau report found that "even if the women awarded and due payment in 1983 had received all the payments they were supposed to receive, the change in their poverty rate would not have been statistically significant." Court orders for support (a mean of \$2,288 per year per family in 1983); even if fully enforced, are too low to meet children's needs realistically. Custodial parents need other supports to provide for their children, including decent job opportunities, child care, health insurance, and supplemental public assistance for those who are unable to meet their children's needs without help.

Whatever its inadequacies, however, the help child support can provide should be available to eligible families. Too often it is not. In 1983 alone absent parents failed to pay \$3 billion in child support they owed their children.

Custodial parents need help enforcing these obligations. Since 1975 federal law has required states to operate child support enforcement programs that serve both AFDC and non-AFDC families. But state enforcement efforts have been uneven and often grossly inadequate in the assistance they provide to needy families. For FY 1985, child support collections were made for only 10.9 percent of the national AFDC caseload, while many of those not receiving AFDC were turned away or put on long waiting lists by state child support enforcement agencies.

A congressional attempt to remedy these problems, the Child Support Enforcement Amendments of 1984, has prompted improvements. It is still too early to tell how adequate the new system will be. The law's provisions require states to enact vigorous measures to collect support (including withholding wages from absent parents when they fall behind on payments), and to improve enforcement services to non-AFDC families. Another 1984 change allows AFDC children a modest benefit from support paid by absent parents: in calculating a family's AFDC eligibility and grant level, a state must disregard the first \$50 per month in child support. The rest of the support generally goes to reimburse the state for public assistance provided to the family.

States' uneven enforcement of the federal law, however, has meant that many families in need of support still are not receiving it. Although most of the enforcement mechanisms required by the 1984 law were to have been implemented by October 1985 (or, in some states, by the spring of 1986), the

federal Office of Child Support Enforcement in August 1986 reported that only thirty-seven states had approved legislation that partially or fully addressed all of the requirements. Only eight of these states had legislation that contained all the provisions required by the 1984 law. Furthermore, states also face gradual reductions in federal matching funds for child support enforcement activities that will limit the resources available for their efforts on behalf of children.

State child support offices are still understaffed and as a result drastically underserve needy clients.

- The experience of one Virginia mother of two, who was owed \$500 per month in child support, illustrates the slow response many families not receiving AFDC get when they seek help from the state child support enforcement office. Her ex-husband stopped making payments. Faced with eviction, she made twenty-six calls to the agency before she was able to schedule an appointment (for three weeks later) to see a caseworker. She met with the worker and paid an application fee. Three weeks later, the caseworker told her it would take seven months to begin proceedings against her husband because of the agency's limited resources.
- In April 1986 one district attorney was responsible for child support enforcement for an entire judicial district in Tennessee, juggling 4,300 open child support cases.
- Many AFDC families still experience delays of up to five months before states pay them their \$50 child support disregards. In interstate child support cases, some families are deprived completely of the disregard (even when the absent parent pays support on time) due to errors by the collecting state in forwarding child support to the state in which the children live.
- Many states are reluctant to undertake paternity actions—a prerequisite to obtaining support orders for children born out-of-wedlock—because such cases are more complex than others in the enforcement system. In 1984, for example, West Virginia had a child support enforcement caseload of 38,102, but established paternity in only 378 cases.

Too frequently child support is not pursued because of the time-consuming nature of paternity establishment proceedings or because complex problems in securing support from a parent in another state are anticipated. Even when it is pursued, however, there may be great variation within a given state from county to county, or even court to court, in the speed with which child support awards are obtained, the amount of those awards, and the vigorousness of enforcement efforts.

Myths Clouding Public Debate Over Aid to Families with Dependent Children Must Be Debunked

Families that cannot survive on their own income must turn to our nation's system of publicly financed assistance to the poor. But they find a system that is inadequate and inequitable.

Today congressional leaders, a number of state officials, other policy-makers, academicians, advocates, and others are seeking ways to reform and, it is hoped, improve our "welfare" system of publicly financed assistance for the poor. In the course of this debate, conflicting and sometimes erroneous views

about welfare often are put forth. Certain assumptions are made about what welfare is; who benefits from it; what, if any, "societal ills" it contributes to; and how it needs to be changed.

What the public understands about welfare will help shape the nation's view about what steps should be taken to make the welfare system serve families and our society better. To establish a proper framework for discussions about such possible steps as improvements in benefit levels and work incentives, and establishment of meaningful employment and training initiatives, it is essential first to set the record straight regarding some of the myths that abound about AFDC.

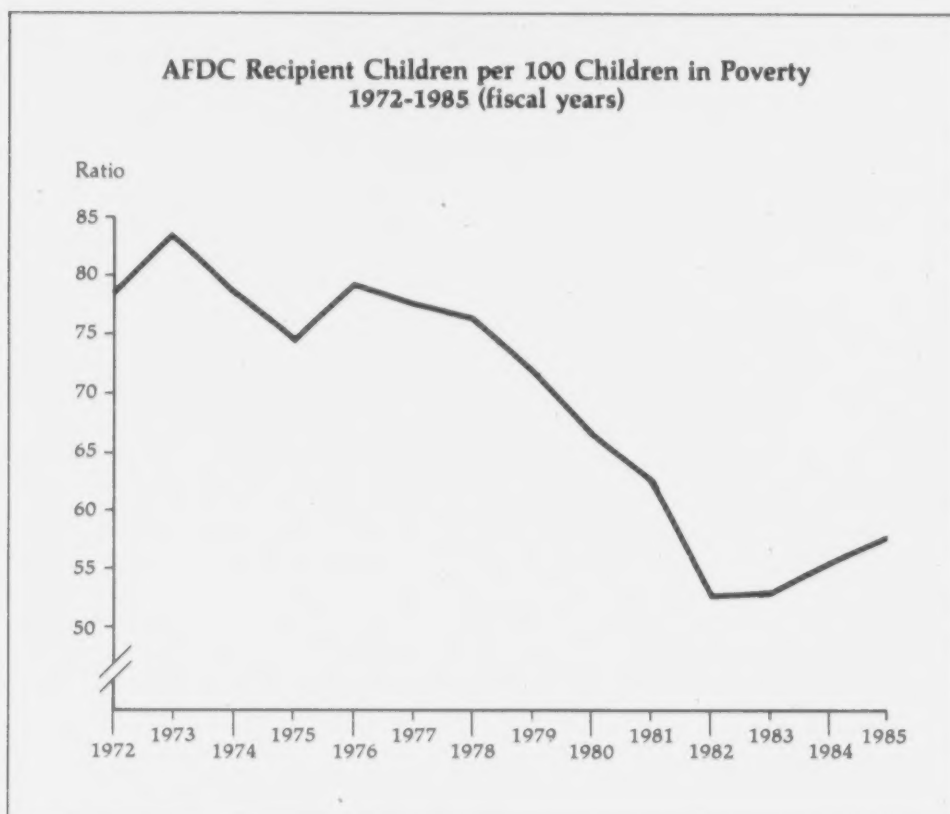
- **Myth One:** "Government spending on behalf of 'welfare families' takes a huge chunk of federal and state budgets and is escalating at a dangerous rate."

White House spokesmen repeatedly assert that America's public assistance system is a labyrinth of fifty-nine major federal welfare programs on which federal and state governments spent more than \$132 billion in FY 1985. Such a broad characterization of "welfare programs" is misleading. The largest cash assistance program for the poor is AFDC. It now serves 3.7 million poor families. AFDC accounted for \$14.8 billion in FY 1985—just more than 10 percent of the \$132 billion to which the Administration points. Since states pay part of AFDC costs, only a little more than half of the \$14.8 billion consisted of federal dollars. In 1985 federal expenditures for AFDC represented less than 1 percent of total federal government expenditures.

Most of the rest of the expenditures that White House officials call "welfare" are not being spent on AFDC families. Many poor families who are not on AFDC, and many families that are a little above the poverty line but need some help, also are assisted by some of the programs included on the White House list. For example, although most AFDC families receive food stamps, in 1984 they represented fewer than half of all food stamp households. Only about one-quarter of total Medicaid expenditures are for health care for dependent children and adults receiving AFDC. Fewer than one in four AFDC families received any form of housing assistance in 1984. Head Start, college tuition grants, school lunches, legal services, the Summer Youth Employment Program, the Title XX Social Services Block Grant, and many other programs listed by the White House help some AFDC families for particular purposes, but assist many other needy families as well.

Many of the programs assisting poor children and families were cut significantly in the 1981-1983 period and most of these cuts remain in effect, hurting poor families. Funding for two of the major entitlement programs, AFDC and food stamps, has fallen behind inflation. Although federal expenditures for AFDC and food stamps increased 12.7 percent between FY 1981 and FY 1986, the Consumer Price Index increased 21.2 percent. The programs were funded at a level \$1.7 billion less than it would have cost just to keep them up with inflation. Fewer children also have benefited from these programs. Whereas in 1979 seventy-six children for every 100 poor children were receiving AFDC, in 1985 the number was only 57.7. Poor children's participation in Medicaid also has declined.

- **Myth Two:** "The AFDC program is a 'haven' for the 'underclass'—able-bodied adults who have no motivation to work and instead take the easy life on AFDC for a long period of time."



About 64 percent, or 7 million, of the roughly 11 million AFDC recipients cannot work for the simple reason that they are children, approximately 43 percent of them younger than six. Only families are eligible for AFDC; poor single individuals or couples without children cannot obtain its benefits.

The vast majority of AFDC families are headed by single parents, almost 90 percent by women alone. In twenty-five states two-parent families, regardless of how poor they are, are not eligible for AFDC unless one of the parents is incapacitated.

In 1983, 59.6 percent of AFDC families had children younger than six; 37.9 percent had children younger than three. Most mandatory work programs to date have exempted parents with children younger than six, recognizing that these parents in AFDC families already were working caring for preschool-age children. Most other adult AFDC recipients, however, are required to register for work and frequently are required to participate in job search activities.

Most families that turn to AFDC do not stay on the program for long periods. Of the families that enroll, more than half leave within two years and a number have some earnings even while they are on AFDC. Many who leave AFDC return later. But even when multiple spells are counted, half of those who ever receive AFDC will receive it for four years or less. Individuals who receive AFDC for longer periods (not necessarily continuously, however) are

most likely to be never-married women who are high school dropouts, have little work experience, and have young children.

For those who are on AFDC, there is no "haven." Life is a struggle just to survive. In forty-one states, AFDC and food stamp benefits combined provide less than three-fourths of the poverty level for a family of three.

Unlike Social Security, SSI, and food stamp benefits, AFDC payments are not automatically increased each year to keep up with the rising cost of living. When the White House Working Group on the Family, after nine months of study, issued a report in November 1986 incorrectly asserting that AFDC is indexed for inflation, it must have seemed like a cruel joke to the poor families in the forty-eight states and the District of Columbia where AFDC benefits lost ground to inflation—typically losing 25 or 35 percent, but as much as 58 percent—between 1970 and 1985.

- **Myth Three:** "Welfare causes teen pregnancy and encourages young 'welfare mothers' to keep having babies."

The best evidence shows that the availability of AFDC benefits appears to have no impact on childbearing decisions among young unmarried women. Research by Mary Jo Bane and David Ellwood at Harvard University found no evidence to support the hypothesis that higher AFDC benefit levels encourage childbearing among young unmarried women, regardless of race. Their further analyses found that birth rates of unmarried women who were likely to collect AFDC as single mothers differed little from rates of those who were unlikely to receive AFDC.

Nor is there any systematic evidence for the common belief that welfare recipients' decisions about subsequent childbearing, particularly decisions by teen parents, are swayed by the fact that grants typically increase with the birth of an additional child. The financial "incentive" is a fiction: an additional child in an AFDC family causes a grant increase so small that it cannot support the additional child, much less improve the family's standard of living. For example, a family increasing in size from two to three members in January 1986 got a monthly AFDC grant increase of \$60 or less in twenty-five states, and less than \$80 in thirty-seven states. It is not surprising, therefore, that AFDC families are smaller than poor families generally and the same size as the national average for families of all income levels.

There is evidence that a significant proportion of single teen parents enter the welfare system. But given the well-established links between being poor and having low basic skills and becoming a teen parent, that fact is not surprising. For these same reasons, young never-married women are also the group at greatest risk of relying on welfare for longer spells. But the fact that poor, less educated, and younger women who have babies are more likely to receive and stay on AFDC provides no evidence that they have babies in order to receive AFDC.

- **Myth Four:** "Welfare recipients have to be forced to work."

There is long-standing evidence that many welfare recipients always have worked or tried to work, and more recent experience that shows a willingness to do so when opportunities are provided.

Historically, many AFDC families have been working but had to rely on assistance to supplement inadequate wages. For example, 1980 census data indicated that 45 percent of the families who reported receiving AFDC that year also reported being employed during the year.

Most welfare recipients who can work want to do so. Even mothers with young children are willing to participate in employment and training programs.

when they know appropriate child care arrangements can be made and have some belief that their investment will pay off in the long term. In the Massachusetts Employment and Training Choices program (ET), for example, 44 percent of the program's volunteer participants have been women with children younger than six. Overall, as of September 1986 more than 30,000 recipients and applicants have found jobs through ET.

Evidence from evaluations by the Manpower Development Research Corporation (MDRC) indicate only small gains in employment as a result of mandatory work programs that generally have not included mothers with young children. MDRC's study results show that employment rates for AFDC mothers resulting from these programs are only 3 to 8 percentage points higher than they would be were there no programs. Similarly, the economic gains for those participating in the mandatory programs were limited when contrasted with others who had found jobs on their own.

For many parents on AFDC, particularly those with young children, the barrier to employment is not lack of willingness to work but lack of preparation for work. Fewer than 40 percent of all adult AFDC recipients are high school graduates. For young parents, the educational deficits are likely to be even greater. A recently completed longitudinal study of teen mothers on AFDC in Cook County, Illinois reported that 72 percent of the respondents had dropped out of school; 8 percent were still in high school; and 20 percent had graduated or gotten GEDs. Analyses of the National Longitudinal Survey data, conducted by Dr. Andrew Sum, indicate that two-thirds of all AFDC mothers between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one have basic skills that place them in the bottom one-fifth of all young women in their age group.

The child care demands facing parents with young children also can be a major impediment. Generally infant and toddler care is far more costly and in much more limited supply than child care for children older than three. Although help with child care costs is available for AFDC parents who are working, assistance for parents in education or training programs is much harder to find. Further, once a parent is working and is no longer eligible for AFDC, her child care assistance often stops.

These and other myths about poor families and their needs and motivations must be set aside if we are to assure adequate supports for children and their parents, whether the parents are working, preparing to work, or not able to work, at least at this time.

AFDC Benefits and Eligibility Levels Are Too Low

Whatever the differences of opinion in the public debate about AFDC, one point clearly is emerging: the system is not providing an adequate "safety net" for poor families. Both benefit levels and eligibility levels are disgracefully low.

Benefit Levels Are Grossly Inadequate

The AFDC payment a family receives depends on where in the country it lives. Almost everywhere the levels are painfully inadequate.

While the federal government provides more than half of the AFDC program's funds, each state defines for itself the level of need it uses to calculate eligibility for the program (the AFDC need standard). Then each state decides how much of its need standard it actually will pay in AFDC benefits.

State need standards and benefit levels are extremely low. In theory, the

AFDC standard of need represents the amount a family requires to support a minimum standard of living in a state. But as of July 1986 the need standard for an AFDC family of three was below the federal poverty line in every state, and in thirty-eight states was below 75 percent of the federal poverty level. There is no federal requirement that states update their need standards regularly to reflect inflation.

Further, actual AFDC benefit levels paid by states are often far lower than the need standards they have set. In twenty-three states, the maximum grant for a family of three is less than 75 percent of the need standard.

The low level of AFDC grants is particularly shocking when measured against the more adequate (but often less than generous) benefits paid by other government-financed programs and the federal government's own marker for determining bare-bones subsistence: the poverty line. In June 1986 the national average monthly AFDC payment per family was only \$348.43. The average payment per individual was \$118.86. By contrast, the 1986 benefit rate in the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program—the federal public assistance program for poor disabled and elderly persons—was \$336 a month for a person living alone, virtually the same as the average AFDC grant for an entire family. Similarly, SSI provided a maximum \$504 federal benefit for an eligible couple in 1986. This was higher than the maximum AFDC grant for a family of four in forty states.

The contrast between AFDC levels and Social Security insurance benefits is also stark. In July 1986 the average Social Security monthly benefit for the child survivor of a deceased worker was \$315.94; the child's surviving parent received an average additional allotment of \$324.48 per month.

AFDC benefits rarely even approach the poverty line. On the contrary, the question is how deep in poverty a given state's benefits will leave AFDC families. The maximum AFDC benefit for a family of three in July 1986 was less than half the federal poverty level in thirty-two states. According to federal poverty guidelines, in 1986 a family of three needed \$760 a month to meet its most basic needs. But the state of Alabama provided a maximum AFDC grant for a family of three of \$118 a month; Illinois provided \$341 a month; Massachusetts, a more generous state, provided \$476 a month; and California, the top state in AFDC benefit levels (after Alaska), provided \$617 a month.

Benefit levels are increasingly inadequate because almost no state has adjusted them to keep up with inflation during the 1970s and 1980s. The level of real AFDC monthly benefits fell by 33 percent in the median state between July 1970 and January 1985.

Even with the help of food stamps, the federal program designed to ease families' food cost burden, poor families generally fall well short of the poverty line. In every state except Alaska, a family of three getting food stamps and the maximum AFDC grant in July 1986 was still left below the federal poverty line. In 1986 help provided by these two programs to an AFDC family of three was less than three-fourths of the federal poverty line in forty-one states—nearly double the number (twenty-one) in 1981.

Many Americans spend more on cars each month than states spend for cash assistance to a poor child. In August 1985 the average monthly AFDC benefit per person was \$117.70. According to the National Automobile Dealers Association, the average monthly installment payment for a new car purchased in 1985 was \$274.56—2.3 times as much.

Many parents spend more on diapers alone each month than some states provide in AFDC help that has to pay for a child's shelter, clothing, and all other needs. According to one major diaper manufacturer, the average cost of disposable diapers is between \$42 and \$58 a month, depending on the child's

age. One child's pro rata share of an AFDC grant for four in July 1986 was only \$36.75 in Alabama and \$36 in Mississippi.

Because program benefits are so inadequate, virtually every family on AFDC faces an unwinable daily struggle to meet its children's basic needs for food, clothing, and shelter. Families survive day-to-day, often falling behind on rent or utility payments, turning to charity providers for food at the end of the month, rarely buying even used clothing, and trying to have small school fees waived.

These families have no margin to cope with crises or emergencies. Although states can participate in the federal Emergency Assistance program to provide emergency aid to AFDC recipients and other needy families with children, twenty-five states do not. Even those that do are not allowed to help a family for more than one month in a twelve-month period. In the states that have the program, only 35,400 families were assisted by it in August 1986, a significant decline from the 49,000 per month aided in 1981.

Many of the Working Poor Cannot Qualify for an AFDC Supplement

For many families, employment and training are the route out of poverty. A strong welfare system would help those who work but cannot yet earn enough to support their families by giving them supplemental benefits, but our nation's AFDC system is not well designed to provide this supplementary help. In fact, AFDC rules passed in 1981 actually keep some families from pursuing employment as a way out of poverty and dependency. They make it extremely hard for a family to receive a partial AFDC supplement if a parent works, even if the parent's wages leave the family well below poverty.

Before 1981 an AFDC-eligible wage earner generally could have the first \$30 and one-third of the rest of his or her monthly earnings disregarded in calculating the AFDC grant. This work incentive meant that a poor parent whose earned income was low enough could get a partial AFDC grant, plus Medicaid, and be encouraged to work by being permitted to retain part of the earnings.

In 1981 Congress and the President limited this work incentive disregard to four months and made other changes in the disregards to lower their value even during the four months. A gross income cap also was imposed on eligibility for AFDC. Families with more than a certain amount of income became automatically ineligible, even if the family's child care and work-related expenses put their net income well within the state's income eligibility guidelines for AFDC.

These provisions were mitigated slightly in 1984, when Congress lengthened the duration of the \$30 disregard (but not the one-third disregard) to twelve months, and raised the gross income cap on eligibility to 185 percent of the state need standard. However, the federal changes still mean that many very poor working families cannot qualify for even partial AFDC assistance, and work incentives are miniscule. In sixteen states, the need standard is so low that the 185 percent cap still keeps many working families with incomes below poverty from ever qualifying for AFDC, regardless of how high their child care and work-related expenses are. In Kentucky, for example, the need standard is so low that a parent working twenty-six hours a week at the minimum wage—earning slightly less than one-half of the federal poverty level for a family of three—would be disqualified for AFDC because her income is \$14 more than the 185 percent cap.

Moreover, even working families poor enough to come under the 185 percent cap are severely harmed, since after the first four months of

employment their income (except for the first \$30 and income that covers certain child care and other expenses that they incur in working) reduces their AFDC grants dollar-for-dollar.

These changes have wrought additional hardships on the already difficult plight of the working poor. The U. S. General Accounting Office (GAO) estimates that of the 442,000 families per month moved off of AFDC due to the 1981 changes, 80 percent were still poor one and a half to two years later. Many also lost Medicaid benefits and had no private health insurance. In states with low AFDC benefits, the GAO found that more than half of the families that lost AFDC had no health insurance. Up to one-quarter of those who lost AFDC reported that they were refused medical care or did not even seek it when they needed it because they were unable to pay. Between 32 and 44 percent had had their gas, phone, or electricity service cut off.

AFDC Eligibility Rules Often Deny Help Completely to Two-Parent Families and Neglect the Needs of Other Types of Families

Many needy families cannot qualify for any AFDC at all, however meager, even if they have no income and are destitute. Families, to be eligible for AFDC, must meet not only income eligibility guidelines but also "categorical" eligibility requirements: they must fit into certain categories or types of families. Either because some states do not elect options to cover some categories, or because federal law prohibits states from giving them AFDC, many desperately poor families cannot qualify at all for AFDC benefits.

In twenty-five states, children in two-parent families cannot qualify for AFDC (unless one parent is incapacitated), regardless of how poor they are. States have the option of extending AFDC coverage to these families through the AFDC-Unemployed Parent (AFDC-UP) program, but only half do so.

In the twenty-five states that do not provide AFDC-UP benefits, destitute two-parent families must rely on food stamps, private charity, and, in states that offer them at all, low state- or locally funded general assistance benefits. Frequently, children in these intact families are denied any cash assistance, and often health coverage under Medicaid as well.

If all states operated AFDC-UP programs, it is estimated that the additional federal costs would be modest—\$115 million in FY 1988 and \$255 million in FY 1989. The benefits would be considerable. The availability of AFDC grants to two-parent unemployed families helps prevent family breakup. States that formerly had an AFDC-UP program found that when they dropped it the percentage of former AFDC-UP families going on AFDC as single-parent families increased.

- In Oregon about 22 percent of former AFDC-UP families began receiving regular AFDC within twenty months after discontinuance of the AFDC-UP program. Nine months after Iowa discontinued its AFDC-UP program, 30 percent of former AFDC-UP families had become eligible for regular AFDC benefits, 73 percent of them because a father was no longer in the home. In the seventeen months after Washington State discontinued AFDC-UP, 38.2 percent of former AFDC-UP families became eligible for regular AFDC benefits. Missouri and Utah had similar experiences.
- The rate at which AFDC-UP cases returned to the rolls as regular AFDC cases (typically families in which only one parent is in the home) increased dramatically after states discontinued their AFDC-UP programs. In Utah twice as many former AFDC-UP families returned to

the rolls as regular AFDC cases than was true before Utah discontinued the program. In Washington State, three times as many former AFDC-UP cases returned to the rolls as regular cases.

Concern about increases in family breakup after discontinuance of AFDC-UP was one of the factors considered by four of these states—Washington, Missouri, Iowa, and Oregon—in deciding to reinstate their programs.

Even in states that provide AFDC-UP, the categorical requirements of the program are so strict that many poor two-parent families cannot qualify. In September 1986, the AFDC-UP program served only 238,000 such families nationally—a mere 6 percent of all AFDC families.

- If a family's breadwinner works more than ninety-nine hours a month, the family cannot qualify for AFDC-UP, no matter how low its income. A parent would be disqualified if he or she worked 100 hours a month, even if the income received was well below a state's AFDC eligibility guidelines.
- The principal wage earner in an AFDC-UP family must meet work history requirements, demonstrating that he or she has either worked, received unemployment compensation, or participated in certain training programs during six of the thirteen calendar quarters preceding application. Even if the spouse with lesser earnings meets these requirements, the family is not eligible for AFDC-UP if the principal earner cannot. This work history requirement also makes it especially hard for young parents to qualify for AFDC-UP. Teen parents or those in their early twenties who may have been in school until recently, who have been in the labor market for a limited time, and who face enormous barriers to employment often are not able to qualify, even though they may have finished school or an employment training program recently. Currently, quarters in school cannot be counted for purposes of the work history requirement.

Several other groups that need AFDC's help—older teenagers in school and women who are pregnant for the first time—are also ineligible for assistance.

- Since 1981 pregnant women with no other children have been barred from receiving federally matched AFDC benefits for the first five months of pregnancy. Before 1981 states could choose to begin assistance as soon as pregnancy was medically verified—and thirty states did so. A 1986 CDF survey found that twenty-seven states begin AFDC in the sixth month; five begin in the seventh month; and two begin in the ninth month. Only nine of these states also use state funds (with no federal matching) to provide cash assistance at the AFDC rate prior to the sixth month.

Sadly, seventeen states provide no AFDC help at all to first-time pregnant women. These women are often at medical and nutritional risk. Poor pregnant women in these states must depend on food stamps, private charity, and general assistance programs, if any. Although many are technically eligible for pregnancy-linked Medicaid benefits, they often do not know they can obtain health coverage without being eligible for AFDC and therefore do not apply. Studies show those who do not receive AFDC are only one-fourth as likely to receive Medicaid even when they are eligible.

- Students who are older than eighteen, or who are eighteen but are not expected to complete high school or vocational school by age nineteen, are no longer eligible for AFDC as dependent children. Discontinuing AFDC for older children means some will be forced to drop out of school since their families can no longer support them. And others, particularly teen parents, may have to move out to establish their own households. Before 1981 states had the option of aiding eighteen- to twenty-one-year-old students, including part-time students and junior college or college students. More than two-thirds of the states did so; in March 1979 approximately 172,000 eighteen- through twenty-year-old recipients in AFDC families were enrolled in school. In 1981, at the President's request, Congress restricted AFDC to children younger than eighteen but gave states the option of extending aid to full-time secondary school or vocational school students who were eighteen provided they were expected to finish school by nineteen. Now eleven states terminate assistance when a child turns eighteen; thirty-nine extend assistance to certain eighteen-year-old students. Only a handful use state funds to continue providing assistance until age twenty-one.

New Federal Budgeting Rules Threaten Family Stability

In 1984, again at the behest of the Reagan Administration, Congress abandoned previous policy and required that the income of every child in a household (except step-siblings or children receiving Supplemental Security Income) be counted in determining AFDC eligibility and benefits for the other children. For example, a half-sibling whose needs are met through child support payments from his or her father, or through Social Security survivor's or disability benefits meant for his or her use alone, now is required to be included in the AFDC unit and to have income considered available toward the support of the mother's other children. Even if child support payments are targeted to extraordinary medical or educational needs, they cannot be set aside to meet those needs, but rather must be considered as available to meet the needs of the child's half-siblings. This provision severely strains family relationships. So long as the child with income continues to live with the family, the family's AFDC benefits will be reduced or eliminated altogether. In some instances, families then lose their Medicaid eligibility as well.

Another similar 1984 change requires that a portion of the grandparents' income be counted as available to a grandchild living with his or her minor mother and the grandparents. This must happen whether or not the grandparents actually are supporting the grandchild. This harms low-income families in which grandparents provide crucial emotional support or child care (so a minor parent can stay in school) even though they do not have enough income to support the grandchild. The provision forces some teen parents to choose between moving out on their own in order to hold on to their assistance, thus losing important supports from their families, or staying at home and thus losing AFDC and possibly Medicaid for their child.

Many AFDC Families Face Barriers to Employment They Cannot Overcome Without Increased Help

AFDC programs fall short in another key area: enabling poor families to overcome barriers to the parents' employment and the families' eventual self-sufficiency. A range of federal and state efforts are needed to mount the kind

of well-funded, comprehensive programs—providing remedial education, vocational training, and essential supportive services such as child care—that can prepare more adults on AFDC to get and keep stable employment. These intensive investments in one of the most disadvantaged segments of the labor force can yield long-term societal benefits both for the families and children, in terms of enhanced self-sufficiency and self-esteem, and for the nation as a whole, due to increased tax revenues and reduced welfare costs.

Helping large numbers of AFDC families make the transition from welfare to work will be a costly and complex task, albeit one with significant potential gains if the effort is made. Employment and training initiatives that receive only grudging federal support will not make any long-term gains, and thus will not reduce significantly the number of families forced to turn to welfare to meet their basic needs.

In the vast majority of states, programs to help AFDC recipients find work have been hampered by inadequate resources and a narrow, short-sighted focus on immediate job placements. In contrast, one state that has mounted a more long-term, comprehensive effort—Massachusetts—has had promising results: the number of families on AFDC has fallen from 88,500 in October 1983 to 83,000 in July 1986, a level well below the 96,000 families that is the state's projection of what the caseload would be without its employment and training program.

Major reductions in the AFDC caseload through work programs will require vastly greater resources than those currently provided by federal and state governments, and basic changes in labor markets that now keep millions of Americans out of work or earning too little to support families. The great majority of AFDC recipients want to work, but their path to employment and earnings that will lift them out of poverty is blocked by several barriers. Recipients' frequent lack of adequate education, prior work experience, vocational skills, and necessary supports like child care make it impossible for many adults in AFDC families to find and hold on to steady jobs. Second, persistent joblessness in many parts of the country further diminishes opportunities to work. Where jobs are available, the combination of eroding wages, part-time hours, and the absence of health insurance in most low-wage jobs often dashes hopes of financial independence even among those who are able to find work.

The obstacles facing most AFDC recipients in the job market are well documented. Three-fifths of all adults on AFDC have not graduated from high school, and at least one in four has no prior work experience, according to 1979 data (the most recent available). An Educational Testing Service study in 1983 concluded that more than half of all AFDC recipients required to register for the Work Incentive (WIN) training and work-placement program as a condition for getting AFDC had reading and math skills below the eighth or ninth grade level, thus effectively barring them from many entry-level jobs. These findings clearly illustrate the need for remedial education and skills training to bolster the employability of current AFDC recipients.

Those parents in AFDC families who do have the education or skills to compete in the job market frequently are unable to seek or retain employment because of their inability to shoulder the cost of child care. Nearly 90 percent of all AFDC households are headed by single women. In 1983, 59.6 percent of all AFDC parents had children younger than six, and 37.9 percent had children younger than three. These adults on AFDC cannot enter the labor force without help in meeting their child care needs.

Even AFDC families in which a parent does find work cannot necessarily move off the welfare rolls or escape from poverty. Many jobs open to adults on

AFDC offer less than full-time work, below-poverty wages, and no fringe benefits such as health insurance. Earnings from such jobs cannot possibly meet the subsistence needs of even a small family, and the threat of losing health care coverage under Medicaid further deters the efforts of AFDC families to move toward work and eventual self-sufficiency.

Current restrictions on AFDC eligibility virtually ensure that recipients have little financial incentive to seek low-wage employment. As a result of changes approved in 1981, any earnings reduce a recipient's AFDC benefit virtually dollar-for-dollar. In many states, even earnings far below the poverty level lead to complete loss of both AFDC and Medicaid eligibility. These policies are major impediments to the success of employment and training initiatives for AFDC recipients.

Despite bipartisan rhetoric emphasizing the importance of work, the federal government has been unwilling to invest the resources necessary to give AFDC recipients the financial incentive to work and a better chance of finding jobs at decent wages. On the contrary, the federal commitment to employment and training programs for adults on AFDC has been weakened seriously in recent years.

Federal efforts to improve employment opportunities for AFDC recipients began in 1967 with establishment of the WIN program. WIN rules require that all members of AFDC families who are sixteen years of age or older (with some exceptions) register for the program and accept placement either in training programs or jobs. Exceptions include those already working at least thirty hours a week, parents with children younger than six, those caring for disabled persons in the household, and those who are ill or incapacitated themselves.

During the early years of the program, WIN's results were disappointing. Federal support for WIN was so meager that only a small fraction of those required to register actually could be served. Coordination problems also hampered WIN's effectiveness during the late 1960s and 1970s, as responsibility for administering the program was divided between employment and human service agencies at both the state and federal levels.

Since 1981, however, many states have responded to increased flexibility in the federal WIN statute by designing innovative employment and training programs and consolidating authority for their implementation in a single state agency. Federal financial support has been a key catalyst of state-level activity. This experimentation—the primary source of current interest in welfare-to-work efforts—has yielded useful information about the design and structure of successful programs.

The most ambitious state efforts have combined individualized assessments of participants' needs with intensive investments in remedial education, vocational training, supervised work experience, and supportive services. By providing child care assistance and medical help if needed (often through the "medically needy" component of the Medicaid program), some states also have sought to lessen the disincentives to work faced by AFDC recipients. Finally, the more effective state programs have sought to place AFDC parents in jobs that will pay more than the minimum wage—at least after some reasonable period of time—and thus have improved their long-term chances for self-sufficiency.

Ironically, as states have sought to expand their efforts to provide employment and training opportunities for AFDC recipients, the Reagan Administration repeatedly has threatened to remove these efforts' base of financial support by abolishing the federal WIN program. Increasing Administration rhetoric about getting AFDC recipients to work has been

accompanied by diminishing support for the programs designed to do so. Since 1981 WIN funding has been reduced by 70 percent, including cuts from \$267 million in FY 1985 to \$110 million in FY 1987. For six consecutive years, the Administration has sought to end all federal support for WIN, but Congress has rejected these proposals. In the absence of federal support, only a few states have managed to increase state investments in order to provide the full range of essential components for an effective welfare employment program.

In recent years, the Reagan Administration has proposed its own work program for AFDC recipients—one that would deny them many of the most crucial forms of help they need. Despite the Administration's professed commitment to greater state flexibility, the Reagan proposals, all of which have been rejected by Congress, would have sharply restricted states' ability to provide more intensive remedial education and vocational training. These are precisely the services that have the most significant and lasting impact on the future employment prospects of AFDC recipients. The Administration would encourage reliance on more punitive "workfare" programs that, without providing real training or job skills, require recipients to "work off" their AFDC grants in public sector work assignments.

A February 1986 GAO report cited the inadequacies of current federal and state investments in the areas of training and employment. It found that current work programs in thirty-eight states—including "workfare" and WIN—reached only a portion of eligible adult recipients and often failed to provide the education, training, and employment experiences recipients needed before they were ready to work. The study found that the programs often spent only a few hundred dollars per participant, focusing most frequently on low-cost job search assistance.

The Administration's Proposals For FY 1988

Although President Reagan in his January 1987 State of the Union address pledged to break the poverty trap for all Americans, his FY 1988 budget proposals fail to put forward a viable national strategy on behalf of the millions of poor families living in the United States, and some proposals would only increase their hardship.

The Administration's proposals ignore one of the root causes of poverty: the inadequate levels of employment and earnings facing America's families. Further, the plight of many low-income families will be worsened by four of the Administration's proposals: to reduce employment and training assistance for AFDC recipients who want to move from welfare to work and toward self-sufficiency, to further restrict access to meager AFDC benefits, to cut back on energy assistance for poor households, and to weaken federal child support enforcement efforts.

In the area of employment and training, there is increasing consensus that strategies to expand opportunities for increased self-sufficiency among poor families must begin with intensive efforts to improve recipients' basic academic skills and job skills. The Administration's FY 1988 proposals, however, would undercut rather than expand current employment and training initiatives.

- The President proposes to eliminate WIN, under which Massachusetts, Maine, and other states are demonstrating successful comprehensive education, training, and employment initiatives. It would put in WIN's place the Greater Opportunities for Work (GROW) program, under which states will be required to reach a nearly impossible goal: by the

end of five years 60 percent of AFDC recipients each month would have to be participating in work-related activities. Most adult recipients, except those with children a few months old, would be required to work. The Administration budgets only \$110 million for GROW for FY 1988 (half the amount appropriated for WIN in FY 1986) and requires a 50 percent state match, dramatically higher than the 10 percent match states are required to provide under WIN. Further, federal matching payments will not be available for education and training costs under GROW, although these activities have been a critical part of successful WIN employment and training initiatives. In its February 1986 report, the GAO indicated that inadequate federal funding already has prevented states from providing needed education and training services to move welfare recipients out of poverty. Under the Administration proposal, smaller amounts of funds would have to be stretched further to serve an even larger and more needy population.

The Administration proposes once again to deny AFDC benefits to certain groups of current AFDC recipients. The specific proposals, each of which has been rejected previously in Congress at least three times, include:

- "Saving" a total of \$106 million by, first, excluding the needs of the parent or other caretaker relative in figuring a family's AFDC grant when the youngest child reaches sixteen, and, second, limiting the definition of "essential persons." The first part of this proposal is based on the assumption that the adults involved are free from child care responsibilities and can obtain employment. It ignores the reality that many of these caretakers are likely to be older and less employable than those they must compete with in the labor market, especially if they need and do not receive remedial education and job training. It also ignores the current rule that such caretakers are liable to lose AFDC if they are employable but are not cooperating with the WIN program. If the caretaker is still unable to find work when her youngest child reaches sixteen, there is no justification for ignoring her needs and imposing hardship on the entire family. A second proposal would limit the definition of "essential persons" to those needed in the home to care for a child or incapacitated adult. Coverage of "essential persons" is now a state option and because states have discretion about how to define "essential persons," potentially includes a much broader range of eligible needy individuals.
- Denying assistance to single minor parents who do not live with their parents. This proposal would deny AFDC to a never-married minor parent, with few exceptions, unless the minor parent is living with his or her own parents. Even then, it would require that the AFDC payment go to the minor's parents to ensure it is used properly. The Administration projects that it will save \$20 million in FY 1988 by cutting off AFDC to very young mothers (and their babies) when they are not living with their parents. This would hurt not only minor mothers living in their own apartments but also those living with other extended family members or in special foster homes or other supportive living arrangements. The Administration asserts that this proposal will discourage minor parents from leaving home to claim AFDC. There is no evidence that minor mothers do this, except for those who have been forced to do so by an earlier Administrative initiative, enacted in 1984. It required "grandparent deeming" and the establishment of a "standard

filing unit," thus forcing some young mothers to leave home because their parents could not fully support them and their infants or toddlers. Together the old and new proposals would reduce or deny assistance to many teenage mothers regardless of where they live. Together they would deny food and medical care to those babies most at risk—babies born to teens from low-income families.

The Administration's FY 1988 budget also includes proposals for the AFDC program that would penalize states with unusually high AFDC administrative costs, and would reduce the current enhanced federal matching rate for statewide data systems. The fiscal impact of these administrative changes, together with the proposal's penalties on states for erroneous payments (to be collected prospectively), is likely to lead indirectly to worse state treatment of recipients.

AFDC families and other low-income families and individuals are also threatened by the Administration's proposed cutbacks in the area of energy assistance. Low-income households in more than half the states pay roughly \$1,000 a year or more to cover household energy expenditures. The portion of the average poor family's budget devoted to energy is three or four times that of the average American household. In a number of states, an average low-income family's expenditures on energy are equal to 50 percent of AFDC benefits for a family of three. Federal aid, through the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program and the low-income Weatherization Assistance Program, is a critical, although limited, source of assistance.

- The President proposes for FY 1988 to slash the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) by 32 percent and to eliminate totally the federally funded Weatherization Assistance Program (WAP). Funded at \$1.825 billion in FY 1987, LIHEAP provides approximately one-third of the nation's eligible low-income households with average annual energy assistance benefits of a little more than \$200. WAP, which was funded a number of years at roughly \$200 million and at \$144 million in FY 1987, currently assists roughly 150,000 households each year (out of an estimated 15 million to 20 million eligible) in dealing with energy costs through essential conservation measures.

The Administration's rationale for this retreat from a federal commitment to aid low-income households is the existence in the states of "oil overcharge" monies recovered from the oil companies for violating price control regulations in effect in the 1970s. However, there is no requirement that states put these oil overcharge funds into energy aid to the poor and it is apparent that a relatively small portion of funds are being placed by states in LIHEAP nationwide, with a number of states allotting nothing to the program.

The Administration also would cut back on the federal commitment to help make sure families receive the child support they are due.

- The President proposes to reduce the federal support available to help states increase child support enforcement activities. The federal matching rate for state and local administrative costs would be reduced to 66 percent in FY 1988, rather than in 1990, as currently is scheduled. Less federal reimbursement would be available for staff and the administrative functions essential to adequate record-keeping. The development of automated systems necessary to monitor child support

payments and to trigger enforcement procedures would be impeded by the Administration's additional proposal to phase out enhanced funding for computer systems designed to facilitate child support enforcement. Federal matching for these efforts would be reduced from 90 percent to 75 percent in 1988, and would drop to 66 percent by 1990.

While reducing such administrative supports, the Administration also proposes to restrict the payments provided to states as an incentive for child support collections. States that do not make a 1.4 to 1 cost-benefit ratio on their collections (which twenty-nine failed to do in FY 1985) would be denied incentive payments under a new rule. The one positive note is that the Administration indicates it will submit a legislative proposal to require each state to develop and have decision-makers use the state's guidelines for the amounts of child support awards.

CDF Recommendations

A long-term agenda to help poor children and families must address the root causes of poverty: insufficient opportunities to work or to work full-time, wage levels that are inadequate to support even small families, and a welfare system that rarely meets the most basic subsistence needs of poor families or provides parents with the basic skills and supports to become self-sufficient.

As a first step, it is essential to increase the minimum wage so that a full-time worker can support his or her family at a level above the poverty line. Under CDF's Legislative Agenda, the current minimum wage would be raised immediately to \$3.95 an hour. This level, however, is still too low: for example, it is below the level needed to keep a full-time earner with two children out of poverty. Therefore, the minimum wage would be increased in subsequent years until it equaled the 1979 value in inflation-adjusted dollars, and would be adjusted for inflation thereafter, so that a full-time minimum-wage job would allow an earner with two children to escape poverty.

Federal government job creation efforts—gutted under this Administration—must be reinstituted to help the many breadwinners who need work but are unable to find jobs.

We must take immediate steps to make our welfare system better meet the needs of the millions of poor children who are dependent on it for their survival. States should be required to adjust their state need standards to reflect adequately current living costs, and to phase in benefit increases to meet them. CDF's Legislative Agenda provides federal incentives for doing so, including an enhanced federal match, and a requirement that by October 1991 all states provide combined AFDC and food stamp benefits at least equal to 75 percent of the federal poverty level, with subsequent increases to 100 percent.

The AFDC program must be restructured to reward parents who try to work.

- The earned income disregard should be expanded, should be applied in both initial eligibility and subsequent benefit determinations, and should not be time-limited, so that AFDC parents who go to work do not lose virtually all benefit from working.
- Deductions for child care and work expenses should be indexed for inflation so they are not subject to unrealistic ceilings. They should be made available to meet a family's current need, not to lag behind and reimburse them for expenses incurred in the past—an unworkable approach.

- AFDC parents in education or training programs should receive a special child care allowance.
- The Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), designed to exempt earners of very low wages from payroll taxes, should be disregarded when computing AFDC and food stamp eligibility and benefit levels. The poorest of the poor rely on food stamps and AFDC for a partial supplement to earned income. Unless the EITC is disregarded in computing this help, the poor will be denied the tax relief Congress intended to give them when it improved the EITC in the 1986 Tax Reform Act.

States should be given expanded resources to establish comprehensive education, training, and employment programs so they can serve the many AFDC participants who would volunteer to receive these services in order to improve their employment prospects. In general, states must devote resources to the more intensive education and training programs many recipients will need to become self-sufficient, as well as to the quicker programs that will help others who need less help to find work. Specifically, work and training programs should: be based on individualized assessments of participants and their support needs; offer participants their choice of a range of education, training, and employment opportunities; and provide essential support services (including appropriate child care and health coverage). These support services should be continued for families that succeed in leaving the AFDC program through employment until they can obtain comparable coverage through employers or other means.

AFDC and other assistance programs serving teens must recognize their unique needs, including the need to complete their schooling. States should be required to continue benefits to teens up to age twenty-one as long as they are full-time students, or part-time students who also work or participate in a training or vocational program. Stipends teens receive from employment training programs should be disregarded for AFDC purposes.

In addition, states should be encouraged to address the special needs of teens for a broad range of supportive services. CDF's Legislative Agenda proposes three preventive demonstration programs using the case management model, designed to offer a range of health, education, employment preparation, recreation, and family planning services to teens in AFDC families who are not yet pregnant or parents. For those who are pregnant or young parents, it also would provide special grants for comprehensive education, training, and employment programs as well as essential support services, to enable them to become self-sufficient.

The current \$50 monthly AFDC child support disregard, the only provision that allows welfare children to benefit when absent parents contribute to their support, should be doubled. This disregard should be applied to food stamp eligibility and benefit calculations as well. The current food stamp option under which a state must pay all of the cost of any child support disregard it offers is simply not realistic.

Categorical AFDC program requirements that make it more difficult for families to remain intact must be altered. All states should be required to provide AFDC to two-parent families that are in need due to unemployment, and current restrictions on this program should be eased. States should be required to provide assistance to pregnant women who have no other children, from the time pregnancy is medically verified. Further, sibling and grandparent deeming policies that penalize families for staying together should be reversed.

Poor families need assistance protecting their children from the rigors of

winter cold and, in some areas of the country, from summer heat. First, funding for the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program must be restored to its 1985 level of \$2.1 billion. Second, it should be increased on an incremental basis so that poor families are no longer required to devote huge portions of their budgets—proportionately up to four times more than that spent by the average American household—to energy costs. Funding for the Weatherization Assistance Program should be restored to its earlier level of \$200 million per year and gradually increased to enable weatherization of all viable low-income dwellings.

Child support and the law intended to make it work for families, the Child Support Enforcement Amendments of 1984, will be empty promises unless the federal and state governments commit enough resources to make effective enforcement a reality. States must not only actively implement improved enforcement mechanisms, but must also allocate greater resources to serving both AFDC and non-AFDC clients, set higher standards for support awards, and intensify efforts to establish paternity for children born out-of-wedlock.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

AFDC: Funding and Budget Request, FY1988
(in millions of dollars)

	FY1988 Current Policy	FY1988 Proposed	Change from Current Policy	Percent Change
AFDC and child support	\$10,319.9	\$9,851.5	-\$468.4	-4.5

7. HOMELESSNESS AND HOUSING

Every American child needs a place to call home. A decent place to live helps a child develop emotionally and physically by providing protection from the elements and a healthy environment. It fosters a child's progress in school by offering a conducive place to do homework with help from other family members. And it provides every child with one of the most fundamental elements of emotional stability: a safe haven.

Millions of American families, however, cannot find available and affordable housing. As a result, hundreds of thousands of children and parents will become homeless this year alone.

Homelessness can devastate families, intensifying their existing problems and causing developmental and emotional problems for children. A recent Harvard Medical School study found that 47 percent of all homeless preschool children were affected by delays in their motor, social, language, or personal development. More than half of the homeless school-aged children interviewed were found to be clinically depressed. Homelessness often causes families to disintegrate entirely. New Jersey reports that homelessness is the principal reason children are placed in foster care.

Sally F and her husband have been separated from their three children for more than three months because they cannot find a place to live in Union County, New Jersey. After they lost their apartment because they could not afford the rent increase, they lived in their car until the weather turned cold. Then, in desperation, Mr. F secretly sheltered his children during the night at the warehouse where he works—stopping when he feared that, if discovered, he would lose his job. Without a place to live, the F's finally put their children in the temporary care of the state welfare division, which placed them in separate foster homes. The F's have been unable to find an affordable apartment that will accept them and their children—who are having increasing problems in school.

Homelessness often poses a tremendous threat to children's normal educational progress. A homeless child's day care, Head Start, or school routine frequently is disrupted severely or ended altogether. Parents giving all their

energy to finding food and shelter for their families cannot make the educational efforts—dealing with the school, talking to teachers, and helping with homework—that the children need. Few shelters for the homeless can provide the quiet or privacy that children need to study.

Too often the schools themselves have no interest in helping. In some parts of the country, schools have turned away homeless children, saying they are no longer residents of the school district because they have no permanent address. In other areas, school officials are working hard to keep children in school, but the cost of transportation and the additional stress on the youngsters are considerable.

- In Westchester County, New York some small children must maintain a 7 a. m. to 5 p. m. schedule to travel the forty miles to the school district in which they last resided. School professionals are concerned about the impact of this schedule on children as young as four, and report that this strain, combined with the instability of shelter or hotel life, results in academic and emotional problems.

When they become homeless, children often lose the public help and support services they previously received, though their need for them is anything but lessened. Many homeless families have been denied food stamps, Medicaid, and AFDC benefits because they have no fixed address or because they lack transportation or resources to navigate the bureaucracies.

- The congressional Select Committee on Hunger recently found that homeless families around the country have been denied food stamps because they could not produce the birth certificates of all family members, picture identification, or Social Security cards.
- A 1985 survey of homeless mothers in New York City, published by the National Coalition for the Homeless, found that 34 percent did not receive food stamps regularly. Sixty-two percent reported completely running out of food for a day or more in the previous six weeks.

The New Faces of Homelessness: Families, Children, and Rural and Suburban Americans

Rachel, age six, and her brother Michael, age eight, don't like being homeless or being called "homeless." This label makes them feel insulted and angry. They live with their mother and a newborn brother in a shelter for homeless women and children in Portland, Oregon. Several months ago, they were staying in housing provided to seasonal farm workers. After the season ended, they became homeless. Rachel, Michael, and their mother, then eight months pregnant, went to a family shelter in Portland. That shelter has a maximum stay of four weeks, so they then had to move on to a new shelter, where they will be able to stay until they find housing. The new shelter is above a night club, and Rachel and Michael say it took a while to get used to the way their beds shake at night. They have suffered physical symptoms of stress and have not been in school since they became homeless, although their mother plans to get them back in school when they have a permanent place to live.

Estimates of the total number of homeless people nationwide vary tremendously—from 250,000 to 3 million. Although experts disagree on the number of homeless people, there is almost universal agreement that it is rising and that families account for the fastest growing segment. *The Growth of Hunger, Homelessness, and Poverty in America's Cities in 1986*, published by the U.S. Conference of Mayors, found that virtually all of the cities surveyed reported an increase—averaging 20 percent—in demand for emergency shelter during 1986.

Homeless people are no longer found only on "skid rows" and in inner cities, nor do they fit the stereotype of an alcoholic man or a mentally ill "bag lady." Fully 92 percent of the cities surveyed reported an increase in the number of homeless families with children seeking shelter. Members of families with children now represent an estimated 28 percent of the homeless population nationwide, and much more in some areas.

- In New York City, 76 percent of the homeless are in families with children. According to the city's Human Resources Administration, in January 1987 there were more homeless children than single homeless adults. Just counting the homeless persons served by the city, there were 11,128 children, 8,981 single men, and 1,097 single women.
- Denver, Detroit, Louisville, and St. Paul all reported increases in two-parent homeless families in 1985, primarily due to unemployment and underemployment.
- In Philadelphia, Trenton, and Yonkers, almost 50 percent of the homeless people are members of families with children.
- In Charleston, West Virginia the percentage of homeless people who are women and children rose in the past year from 5 to 10 percent to 30 to 50 percent, according to the National Coalition for the Homeless.

The problem of homelessness is not confined to cities. The number of homeless people in the suburbs and rural areas also is rising dramatically in many areas. In the suburbs, the homeless are often part of the "new poor," including families whose primary breadwinner recently has become unemployed and who cannot find or maintain affordable housing. In the San Fernando Valley, a middle-class, suburban area of Los Angeles, demand for emergency shelter has risen 1,000 percent in the past year.

Rural areas also report growing numbers of the "hidden homeless"—people without their own homes, including many families, who are doubling or tripling up with friends or relatives.

- A recent study by the Ohio Department of Mental Health found that a friend's or relative's house was an intermediate step between home and the streets or public shelter for 40.7 percent of the rural homeless, compared to only 10.7 percent of the urban homeless.

Doubling up is a temporary solution, at best, and one with major problems of its own: it can cause tremendous stress on both families; illegal overcrowding can put the host family at risk of eviction; and members of a family may have to separate and scatter to different homes.

Growing Rents and Falling Incomes Are Forcing More Families into Homelessness or to the Verge of Homelessness

The number of homeless families today is just a warning signal of a much larger potential crisis. A far larger group of families now lives on the precarious edge of homelessness because of increased poverty, decreasing housing supply, and reduced federal help.

Since 1979, the number of children in poverty has grown and the income of poor families has dropped. As a result, while in 1979 there were 3.4 million children in families with incomes of less than half of the poverty level, by 1984 that number had risen by 57 percent to nearly 5.4 million. These and other poor families routinely are forced to choose between paying for food or shelter, clothing or heat, medical care or electricity.

For many, the cost of even substandard housing consumes a huge and still growing proportion of their meager incomes. The number of low-income households paying more than one-half of their incomes for rent and utilities rose from 3.7 million to 6.3 million (or nearly one-half of all low-income households) between 1975 and 1983. In 1983, more than one-half of renters with incomes of less than \$7,000 a year spent more than 60 percent of their incomes on rent and utilities.

A low-income family paying a third, half, or even more of its income for rent has no budgetary leeway. A slight rent increase, a temporary bout of unemployment, or simply the rising costs of living on a fixed income quickly can make paying the rent impossible.

Many families that receive the very low stipends provided by Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) cannot meet rent payments at all or have virtually all of their incomes swallowed by rent. A 1986 study published by the National Low Income Housing Information Service reported that the median rent in Louisiana is \$321 a month; the maximum AFDC benefit for a family of three in that state is \$190. The Association for Children of New Jersey reports that an AFDC family of three would have to spend 99 percent of its grant for rent in the state's lowest rent district.

Not only families on welfare face homelessness. In general, wages for lower-income workers have failed to keep pace with rising rents. Between 1970 and 1980, the median rent rose 120 percent, but renters' median income rose only 66 percent. As a result, many working families are now among the homeless.

- Chicago, Charleston, Kansas City, Seattle, and Yonkers estimate that 30 percent of their homeless populations are employed, according to the U.S. Conference of Mayors.
- Forty percent of the families in a Seattle shelter were employed but could not afford available housing, according to the National Coalition for the Homeless.

Many poor families live dangerously close to homelessness not only because their incomes are so low but also because the small and shrinking supply of low-income housing drives up rents and puts poor families at high risk.

In recent years, the supply of low-income housing has fallen dramatically, primarily because of federal funding cuts. The supply has been further depleted by gentrification in many cities and by urban renewal. The National Housing Law Center estimates that 2.5 million people lose their homes each year to condominium conversions, redevelopment, and building abandonment. While

some of the displaced residents find new, affordable housing, the tight market and high costs mean that many will become homeless or pay far higher shares of their income for rent.

According to a study conducted by the Low Income Housing Information Service, more than 8 million low-income renters were in the market for the 4.2 million units renting at affordable prices in 1985. This gap—4 million units—is 120 percent larger than it was in 1980.

The Federal Government Has Been Giving Increasing Housing Assistance to the Well-Off and Less to the Poor

Since 1949, it has been a stated goal of federal government law and policy to ensure "a decent home and living environment for every American family." But federal efforts today give the greatest benefit not to the neediest American families but to those who are sufficiently well-off to be able to purchase homes. In FY 1986, our nation contributed an estimated \$30.4 billion—up from \$8.2 billion in 1979—in the form of tax relief to homeowners by letting them claim income tax deductions for the costs of mortgage interest payments. The federal government lost an additional \$8.6 billion through the tax break on state and local property taxes for these homeowners.

The higher the family income, the more these tax breaks help. Three-fourths of the tax expenditures go to people in the top 15 percent of incomes. Poor or near-poor households (with incomes of \$15,000 a year or less) get the benefit of only 3 percent of the federal tax breaks for owner-occupied housing.

Federal assistance to homeowners has helped millions of more advantaged Americans house themselves and their children. But these subsidies provide no help to the many low-income families that cannot afford down payments or ongoing mortgage payments and rent instead, or that own houses but do not benefit from the deductions because their incomes are too low.

In contrast to the rapid growth in federal help to more well-off homeowners through the tax code, low-income families have been hard hit by a 60 percent drop since 1981 in federally assisted housing funds targeted to help the poor and near-poor.

Our government is far—and getting farther each year—from meeting its commitment to ensure that each American family can get a decent home. In recent years, the federal government has withdrawn abruptly from its role as the principal funder of low-income housing construction and rehabilitation.

There are three major federal housing programs designed to assist low-income individuals: the Public Housing Program, the Section 8—New Construction/Substantial Rehabilitation Program, and the Section 8—Existing/Moderate Rehabilitation Program. Each of these has suffered significant budget cuts since 1980, and none comes close to serving all of those who need assistance and are eligible for it. In September 1985, only 4 million of the 35 million potentially eligible households received any federal housing assistance.

Since 1937, the federal government has attempted to increase the supply of housing by helping local housing authorities finance rehabilitation and construction of public housing. In 1977, for example, 57,436 units were added to the public housing inventory. The public housing effort has come to a virtual halt, however. In 1983 the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) caused a net eventual loss in public housing stock because its cancellations of planned units exceeded its commitments to building new ones.

Growing demand for public housing, combined with inadequate supply, has created huge waiting lists in most areas. HUD estimates that in 1985, 1,352,000 families lived in public housing. Yet in virtually every major American city the number of low-income families waiting for public housing units exceeds not only the small number of units available, but even the total number of public units in the city. In 1986, the Council of Large Public Housing Authorities reported that New Orleans has 13,000 public housing units; more than 21,000 households are on the waiting list. The waiting list in Boston is seven years long. Even these numbers typically understate the problem—68 percent of the cities surveyed by the Conference of Mayors no longer add names to their waiting lists because the lists already have grown too long.

A similar gap between supply and growing demand exists in the Section 8 programs. These programs provide subsidies to owners and landlords to encourage them to build, rehabilitate, or provide low-income housing. Typically in Section 8 the tenant is given an eligibility certificate to give the landlord. The tenant then pays 30 percent of family income for rent and HUD pays the landlord the difference between that amount and the fair market value of the unit. Again, while demand has increased and older units have fallen into disrepair, the number of new Section 8 units has been dropping. The number of Section 8 completions fell from 242,753 in 1980 to 100,861 in 1985. Because of the time lag in construction, this figure understates the coming crisis. More indicative of the future of low-income housing is the number of new units the government agreed to build, which fell from 132,721 in 1980 to 9,238 in 1985.

The difficulties that many low-income families face in finding decent vacant rental units are compounded by two additional factors. First, many landlords are reluctant to participate in federal programs. For many, the burden of compliance with government standards and yearly inspections are not worth the benefits of participation in Section 8 programs at a time when rental units are in such high demand.

Second, many landlords continue to discriminate against minorities and families with children. In 1982, the last year for which data are available, HUD reported that 66 percent of all families holding Section 8 certificates and 72 percent of minority families returned the certificates after failing to find a place to live. A study by the Maryland Regional Fair Housing Consortium, which sent testers to apply for apartments, found that in about 60 percent of the cases in Montgomery County black applicants were discriminated against.

Even children whose families are lucky enough to find subsidized housing often live in intolerable and dangerous conditions. A U.S. General Accounting Office study in 1979 found that 42 percent of the surveyed Section 8 units violated federal housing quality standards or endangered the health, welfare, or safety of the residents or the public. An additional 18 percent of the units were in such bad condition that they could not be considered decent, safe, and sanitary.

While cutting back on long-term federal investment designed to expand the supply of low-income housing, the Reagan Administration has tried to replace the remaining programs with a new method for helping families pay for housing: the voucher system. Under this plan, eligible poor families starting to look for housing on the open market are given a set subsidy equal to the difference between 30 percent of their incomes and the "fair market rents" in the area.

The shift to vouchers only will prolong or increase the housing difficulties already faced by low-income families. First, it does nothing to address the urgent need for additional low-income units or the unwillingness of many landlords to rent to poor families. Second, the voucher approach may

further impoverish an already struggling family, because (unlike Section 8) there is no ceiling on the amount landlords can charge. Although the government's share of payments is fixed, based on the area's fair market rent, there is no ceiling on the amount tenants wind up paying because the actual rents charged can be higher. Many with vouchers pay far more than 30 percent of their incomes for rent.

The Federal Government Has Done Little To Meet the Emergency Needs of the Homeless

Just as the federal government has done less and less to prevent homelessness through helping the poor meet their needs for housing, it has done little to address the inevitable consequence: growing homelessness.

The Administration's efforts have been reluctant and minimal and have helped only a handful of homeless people directly. The principal Administration initiative on homelessness—the creation of a Task Force on the Homeless within the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS)—has only held hearings and published a resource guide. Hundreds of empty military buildings, in theory, have been set aside for shelter use, but virtually none of the funds approved by Congress for the necessary conversions have been spent by the Department of Defense.

The Administration consistently has tried to eliminate or reduce the main federal programs used by states and localities to help the homeless—the Community Development Block Grant Program (CDBG), General Revenue Sharing, and the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP). The CDBG program's budget has been cut. General Revenue Sharing was eliminated. The Administration repeatedly has targeted for elimination both TEFAP, which helps local governments and community organizations provide meals to the poor and homeless, and the primary federal program specifically designed to help homeless people—the Emergency Food and Shelter Program, administered by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). Congress consistently has defended and funded both programs, and last year created two small, new programs for the homeless: the Transitional Housing Demonstration Program, funded at \$5 million in FY 1987, for loans to fund the rehabilitation or acquisition of structures to be used for housing and supportive services; and the Emergency Shelter Grant Program, funded at \$10 million in FY 1987, for loans to fund the rehabilitation or conversion of buildings to be used for shelters.

It was also Congress, not the Administration, that pushed through recent reforms designed to ease the financial plight of homeless Americans. Too often states have denied survival program benefits to homeless families or families in shelters on the basis that they cannot give assistance to families that have no permanent residence. In 1986 Congress passed a law clarifying that homeless persons cannot be denied eligibility on this basis for AFDC, SSI, Medicaid, or veterans programs benefits. Congress also provided that homeless persons will be allowed to use food stamps to purchase meals in soup kitchens operated by nonprofit organizations, but may not be forced to do so.

Attempting to cope with the crisis needs of the homeless in a vacuum of federal leadership, state and local governments, along with the private nonprofit sector, have poured millions of dollars and countless hours into services for homeless children and families.

- Seventy-six percent of the cities (down from 88 percent in 1985) surveyed by the U.S. Conference of Mayors are spending significant city funds to assist the homeless. Almost every city provides services beyond shelter, including health care, job training, housing assistance, counseling, and social services.
- States have launched a range of initiatives, including rent supplement programs and use of public pension funds to finance low-income housing.
- In New Jersey, a state-funded Homelessness Prevention Program provides emergency rental and mortgage assistance to families to help them avoid eviction. Eighty-seven percent of the people who applied for assistance during the first year of the program were in families with children.
- In Massachusetts, the state set aside 2,500 assisted housing certificates (the state equivalent of Section 8 certificates) for homeless people. This has helped many families avoid homelessness and the state estimates that placing the 2,164 families it has helped to date in permanent housing will cost less than providing crisis services—such as hotel rooms and transportation to school for the children—for substantial periods of time.

But these programs cannot begin to meet the need without federal help. In New Jersey, the entire 1985 appropriation was gone within five months. Although comparable data are not available for 1986, demand continued to outpace the state's ability to provide services. In Massachusetts, 2,194 families were helped, but the Massachusetts Coalition for the Homeless estimates that another 75,000 families need homes.

The loose patchwork of shelters, soup kitchens, and support services is overwhelmed on two fronts. First, it cannot possibly house and feed all the homeless. Second, few of the agencies are prepared to cope with the special needs of homeless families with children.

Virtually every major city reports that, on any given night, it has fewer shelter beds than homeless people. The ratio of homeless people to beds exceeded two to one in fifteen of the twenty-five cities included in the 1985 U.S. Conference of Mayors survey. Since then, many cities have established additional shelters, but most cannot accommodate many of those in need of a place to sleep.

- There are an estimated 2,000 to 3,000 homeless people in Trenton; the city has about 200 beds available.
- Kansas City estimates its homeless population to be 10,888; it has 600 beds.
- Estimates of the number of homeless persons in Chicago range from 12,000 to 25,000; there are about 2,700 shelter beds available.

Shelters in 72 percent of the cities surveyed by the U.S. Conference of Mayors are forced to turn people away because there is no room. Families are especially likely to be turned away because few of the shelters have facilities for families. Many shelters are limited to single-sex residency and few have cribs or other facilities infants need.

- In Louisville, for every family that finds space in a shelter, two are turned away.

- New Orleans has no facilities for intact families and reported that families have been separated to be sheltered.

Even families that are able to obtain space in shelters often find these facilities cannot meet many of their needs. Despite providers' best efforts to do so, few can offer the staff, space, or resources to provide the special health, education, and social services families and children need. In New York, the lack of kitchen facilities in welfare hotels means that mothers have been forced to give their infants unrefrigerated formula. As a result of bacteria in the formula, many children have become severely ill.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1988

President Reagan's FY 1988 proposed budget will do little more to address the problem of homelessness than put a bandaid on the gaping wound. The Administration proposes only small and inadequate expenditures on important emergency services for the homeless, while slashing deeply into funds for low-income housing for the seventh year in a row.

This year's budget proposals continue the federal government's retreat from programs to provide low-income housing. The Administration, choosing to ignore the causal relationship between shortages of low-income housing and homelessness, proposes virtually no funds for construction of new low-income housing. Total budget authority for assisted housing would fall from \$9.5 billion in FY 1986 to an estimated \$7.8 billion in FY 1987 and to only \$3.9 billion in FY 1988. This year's proposed cuts, on top of housing cuts made since FY 1978, would mean losses of assisted housing units totaling 70 percent (or a reduction from 338,000 to 102,000) between FY 1978 and FY 1988, according to the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

The Administration's sole contribution to low-income housing this year would be to fund an additional 80,000 vouchers. As noted earlier in this chapter, such vouchers would be of limited use to families that cannot locate vacant units that will accept them, and most likely would increase the number of families paying a very high percentage of their incomes for rent.

The President also proposes to remove an important protection for families holding Section 8 certificates: the rule that tenants pay no more than 30 percent of their incomes for rent. This change would bring Section 8 assistance into line with the Administration's voucher efforts in the way most harmful to low-income tenants: restructuring federal housing programs so that tenants lose the ceiling on the share of their incomes they must pay for rent.

The Administration proposes eliminating a number of other housing programs that assist low-income families and rescinding large amounts of the funding for these programs that already have been approved by Congress for FY 1987.

- The President would eliminate the housing counseling program, which provides default, pre-purchase, and renter assistance to eligible homeowners and tenants, by rescinding the entire FY 1987 appropriation and providing no funding in FY 1988.
- The President would decimate the Rental Rehabilitation Program and the Rental Housing Development Grant Program (HoDAG), which provide grants to states and localities to help them rehabilitate old multifamily units and construct new ones. For the rehabilitation program, the President proposes to rescind \$175 million of the \$200

million proposed for FY 1987, and would provide \$75 million in FY 1988. He would rescind all FY 1987 funds for HoDAG and terminate the program in FY 1988.

- For FY 1987, the Administration would rescind all funds for the Urban Development Action Grants program, which funds economic development projects in distressed areas. It would terminate this program in FY 1988.

The President's budget also would rescind \$375 million of the \$3 billion appropriated in FY 1987 for the Community Development Block Grant program, which funds a range of state and local development and rehabilitation projects, and would cut FY 1988 funding to \$2.5 billion.

In addition to housing cuts, the Administration has proposed cuts in a range of other survival programs for low-income children and families, such as food stamps, the Community Services Block Grant, Medicaid, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children. These cuts would increase the number of homeless families and make it much more difficult for such families to receive needed social services.

While proposing cuts in a wide range of programs that can help prevent homelessness, President Reagan's budget would reduce efforts to cope with the impact of this growing national problem.

The Administration's claim that it is concerned about the plight of the homeless is belied by its deep cut in the \$50 million Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP), which provides crucial services to homeless persons. It is not only slated for elimination in FY 1988, but would be cut in half through rescissions in its FY 1987 appropriations.

The budget proposes no increases in current funds for the range of other small programs that serve homeless persons. The new Emergency Shelter Grants and Transitional Housing Demonstration programs would continue to be funded at FY 1987 levels (\$10 million and \$5 million, respectively). The Emergency Shelter Grants Program would be folded into the existing Emergency Food and Shelter Program, and the current \$80 million total would be maintained for the combined program. The President does propose a \$5 million increase for the Community Support Program under the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration (from \$15 million to \$20 million) to fund demonstration projects that help one group of the homeless—mentally ill persons—by providing them with mental health services.

The Administration also proposes establishing another information-gathering unit within HHS, although the first—the Task Force on the Homeless—has been of little value because the Administration has no real commitment to helping the homeless. The proposed Clearinghouse on the Homeless would provide information and technical assistance on available resources to states and local governments as well as to private providers.

CDF Recommendations

The crisis of homelessness among families clearly demands both short-term remedies and a long-term rededication to our nation's stated goal of a decent home for every family.

To prevent homelessness and ensure assistance to families that do become homeless, we must:

- Ensure an adequate supply of decent and affordable low-income housing by providing sufficient funds to repair and maintain existing units and to

build the substantial numbers of new low-income units that are necessary;

- Ensure every family a livable income through realistic wages and income supports;
- Ensure emergency services and supports such as shelter, housing assistance, counseling, job training, food, and health care for families who do become homeless.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Housing and Homelessness: Net New Budget Authority, FY1983-FY1988
(in millions of dollars)

	Low- Income Housing	TEFAP ¹	Emergency Food and Shelter Program
FY1983 proposed	-\$3,850.0	\$ 0.0	\$ 0.0
FY1983 actual	8,651.0	50.0	100.0
FY1984 proposed	400.0	0.0	0.0
FY1984 actual	9,913.0	50.0	110.0
FY1985 proposed	5,600.0	50.0	0.0
FY1985 actual	10,759.0	57.0	20.0
FY1986 proposed	499.0	0.0	0.0
FY1986 actual	²	50.0	70.0
After Gramm-Rudman	9,537.0	50.0	70.0
FY1987 proposed	0.0	0.0	0.0
FY1987 actual	7,362.0	50.0 ³	70.0
FY1988 proposed	3,920.0	0.0	80.0 ⁴

¹Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program.

²Data not available.

³The Administration proposes deferring \$28.6 million of the FY1987 appropriation, and transferring the funds to USDA pay raises and retirement contributions.

⁴The Administration proposes incorporating the new \$10 million Emergency Shelter Grant Program into the existing EFSP, and funding both at FY1987 levels.

8. FOOD ASSISTANCE

Children cannot survive, thrive, and develop without adequate food and nutrition. The denial of adequate sustenance can threaten a child's health in many different ways, directly and indirectly. First, malnutrition can compromise a pregnant woman's health and lead to maternal anemia or even toxemia, a potentially fatal condition for the woman. Second, poor maternal nutrition can cause a baby to be born prematurely and at low birthweight, which is the major cause of infant death. Third, nutritional deprivation in newborn babies can lead to cognitive and other developmental deficiencies, delayed or stunted growth, and weakened resistance to infection. Hunger also increases a child's vulnerability to environmental poisons like lead.

Most American families can afford to protect their children from health damage by providing them with a diet that meets their nutritional needs. But recent data show that a growing number of America's poorest families and their children are forced to forgo the most basic necessity of life: adequate food.

Hunger in America: Symptom of the Resurgence of Poverty

After a decade of progress in reducing hunger and malnutrition in America, these problems have reemerged in the 1980s. In the past two years, a series of new surveys and studies have provided fresh evidence that the crisis continues to worsen.

- The Physician Task Force on Hunger in America, coordinated through the Harvard School of Public Health, estimated in 1985 that about 20 million Americans experience hunger at some point each month, and that malnutrition affects almost 500,000 American children.
- In December 1986, the U.S. Conference of Mayors released the results of a survey finding that requests for emergency food assistance increased in 1986 by an average of 25 percent in twenty-two of twenty-five major U.S. cities surveyed. The cities also reported a sharp rise in the number of families with children requesting assistance, with 80 percent of the cities reporting an average increase in requests of 24 percent among this group.



The fact that a major hunger problem exists in the United States is widely accepted. In 1984, President Reagan's own cautious Task Force on Food Assistance declared that hunger is now "a significant problem throughout our nation." In 1986 millions of Americans, joined by President Reagan, participated in the nationwide Hands Across America event to express their concern about the seriousness of hunger and homelessness in the United States.

One of the clearest and most disturbing manifestations of our nation's hunger problem is the growing evidence of nutrition-related health damage among poor children. The Physician Task Force's 1985 report pointed out that tracing the health damage done by hunger in this country is a far more complex task than measuring the tragedy of mass starvation in Ethiopia, for example. "Instead of a single clear-cut outcome—starvation leading to death—we have to look for a multiplicity of outcomes that may result from mild or moderate malnutrition," the report said. To begin to develop a national epidemiology of hunger, the doctors examined statistics on birth outcomes among poor women. Prematurity and low birthweight, more frequent birth outcomes among this group than among more well-off women, can be caused by poor maternal health and nutrition. The percentage of infants born at very low birthweight rose in 1981, 1982, 1983, and 1984.

Local reports have turned up further evidence of adverse health effects caused by hunger.

- In a major study issued in late 1983, the Massachusetts Department of Public Health found that 10,000 to 17,500 poor children in that state suffered stunted growth, largely due to chronic malnutrition. Nearly one in five low-income children studied in the survey was either stunted, anemic, or abnormally underweight.
- Similarly, a study based on an examination of medical records at Cook County Hospital in Chicago found that between the summer of 1981 and the summer of 1983 the number of children admitted for failure to thrive, diarrhea, or dehydration (all conditions frequently linked to inadequate nutrition) increased by 24 percent. Follow-up studies found that 30 percent of all children coming to the hospital's emergency room had abnormally low rates of growth, and that half of these "low-growth" children suffered from inadequate diets.

The increasing problem of hunger afflicting many families and children is yet another symptom of poverty. One of every five children in America today is living below the federal poverty level. Not only are more children poor, but the poor are poorer. The percentage of all children living in poverty whose family incomes fell below 50 percent of the poverty line rose from 34.9 percent of poor children in 1979 to 40.3 percent in 1985. Because the overall number of poor children also was increasing, the number living below 50 percent of the poverty line increased even more—from 3.398 million to 5.027 million children

during those years. One reason that incomes for the poor have fallen so low is that the minimum wage has dropped approximately 25 percent behind inflation between 1981 and 1987. Many more low-income workers are earning wages that leave them and their families in poverty.

Cutbacks in government income maintenance and other basic programs for low-income families since 1980 have reduced further the resources that poor families have available for food. Only about 33 percent of all jobless workers now receive unemployment insurance in the average month, the lowest percentage ever recorded and well below the 50 percent coverage rate in 1980. As a result of reductions in federal low-income housing programs, 4 million low-income families living in public and subsidized housing now must pay a larger share of their incomes for rent. Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) benefits provided to poor families have lagged far behind inflation. And while the new tax reform law will reduce the federal tax burden on low-income families, lowering their share to the levels of the late 1970s, federal taxes on the poor were exorbitantly high through 1986 and states' tax burdens on poor families remain higher today than in the late 1970s. Taxes on the poor take food out of their mouths.

Government benefits are failing to lift as many families with children out of poverty as they did in the past. Nearly one of every five families that otherwise would have been poor was lifted out of poverty in 1979 by government cash benefit programs such as AFDC, unemployment insurance, and Social Security, according to an analysis of current census data issued in November 1986 by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. In contrast, these programs lifted only one in every nine families with children out of poverty in 1985. Had the 1979 rate been maintained, nearly half a million families with children would have been spared living in poverty in 1985.

Federal Food Programs Have Helped Reduce Hunger and Its Adverse Health Effects

The reemergence of hunger is particularly tragic because it is utterly unnecessary. Our nation knows how to solve this problem—unlike other, more intractable social ills—and has done so before. During the decade between the end of the 1960s and the late 1970s, government programs to feed the needy, including food stamps, school lunch and breakfast programs, and the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (the WIC program), significantly alleviated hunger and malnutrition in the United States.

- Every ten to fifteen years, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) conducts a nationwide survey of household food consumption that provides a wealth of data on the nutritional status of Americans. The survey results clearly demonstrate the effectiveness of the food programs.

Between 1965 (when one survey was conducted) and 1977-1978 (when the most recent survey was conducted), the nutritional gap between low-income Americans and the rest of the population narrowed significantly. This is precisely the period when federal food programs—and particularly the food stamp program—were created or expanded. No series of events other than the emergence of food stamps and other food aid programs can account for most of the marked improvement in nutrition that occurred during this period.

- Research conducted on the health impact of the WIC program proves its effectiveness. The WIC program has been found to have a major impact on reducing the incidence of low-birthweight births. Major new research funded by the USDA and issued in January 1986 also found direct links between WIC and a reduction in late fetal deaths, decreases in the rate of premature births, increases in the proportion of poor pregnant women seeking prenatal care, increased head circumference of infants born to women receiving WIC during pregnancy, and improved diets for women, infants, and children. The research also indicated possible links between WIC and improved cognitive development in children. An article in the *New England Journal of Medicine* in November 1985 presented evidence indicating that WIC also reduces another health problem: anemia.
- A major evaluation of the school lunch program, issued by USDA in 1982, found that school lunches improve the nutritional status of school children, with the greatest improvement among low-income children.

Many Poor Families and Children Are Left Unserved by Federal Food Programs

Despite these successes, a large unmet need for food assistance remains. While these programs never have reached all those who need them, they have lost further ground due to substantial cutbacks during the Reagan Administration's tenure. As a result, today large numbers of needy persons are either unserved by these programs or are receiving inadequate benefits.

Food Stamps

The largest federal food program for the poor, the food stamp program, helps more than 19 million Americans defray the costs of buying food each month. Funding for food stamps was cut \$6.8 billion from FY 1982 through FY 1985, including \$1.9 billion in FY 1985 alone. Approximately two-thirds of these cutbacks were achieved by reducing benefits for households in poverty. Other savings were made through such measures as terminating benefits for needy families whose gross incomes were more than 130 percent of the poverty line but whose disposable incomes (after subtracting taxes, work expenses, and part of particularly high rents and utility bills) fell to below-poverty levels.

The budget cuts since 1980 have had an impact on needy Americans who depend on this program. The food stamp cuts pushed several hundred thousand recipients off the program, while about 18 million other recipients saw the purchasing power of their benefits reduced. While modest restorations in the food stamp program enacted by Congress in 1985 (amounting to about \$100 million a year) somewhat alleviated this harm, more than 90 percent of the cuts remain in place.

Independent of these cuts, food stamps are failing to reach millions of poor Americans, or roughly one-third of those who are eligible. Eleven million to 13 million Americans not receiving food stamps are eligible to do so and fit the Administration's definition of truly needy, according to the President's own Task Force on Food Assistance. The Physician Task Force generally agreed with this assessment in a major report issued in May 1986, estimating that 10 million to 15 million Americans who are eligible for this help are not receiving it.

Whether or not they are officially eligible under the program's complex rules, those who need the program's help are less likely to get it than they were

in 1980. Between 1980 and 1985, the number of persons below the poverty line jumped from 29.3 million to 33.1 million. Despite the addition of nearly 4 million persons to the ranks of the poor, however, food stamp participation was no higher in 1985 than it had been in 1980, averaging 19.8 million in both years. As a result, the number of people receiving food stamps for every 100 persons below the poverty line fell from sixty-eight in 1980 to sixty in 1985, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. (This comparison represents the ratio of food stamp participation to the poverty population. Because not all poor persons are eligible, due to such factors as the assets limits, and because some non-poor persons—usually with incomes below 130 percent of the poverty line but with work expenses or high shelter costs—are eligible, government data do not tell us precisely what percentage of poor people are on food stamps.) In 1986, food stamp participation actually fell to 19.4 million in the average month.

In a 1985 study commissioned by USDA, the Urban Institute took note of this decline in food stamp coverage. Examining food stamp participation through 1983, the Urban Institute found a marked downward trend even beyond what could be attributed to the budget cuts of the early 1980s. The Institute reported:

"After controlling for a number of demographic, economic, and policy factors that influence program participation—including implementation of the 1981-1982 legislative changes—this analysis found a strong, negative effect that reduced the number of food stamp participants. This effect begins in 1979 and achieves a growing significance over time, particularly in the period between 1980 and 1983. By 1983, it is estimated that this unexplained effect was decreasing the number of food stamp participants by over 600,000 persons."

A variety of factors may be contributing to this decline in food stamp coverage.

First, some households were terminated or made ineligible for the program by eligibility restrictions enacted in 1981 and 1982. Second, other needy American families with incomes below the poverty line, especially the newly unemployed, may yet have too many assets to meet the limits that determine eligibility. These asset restrictions have become progressively more severe in practice because they have fallen far behind inflation during the past decade and a half. While food stamp legislation enacted in December 1985 made some modest upward adjustment in the assets limit, this adjustment only compensated for about one-fifth of the effect of inflation since 1971, when this limit was set initially.

Third, food stamps are not reaching all who need them because many eligible Americans do not apply for them. One important reason is lack of information about the program. Extensive research, drawing from a well-known University of Michigan survey of low-income families, indicates that more than half of eligible persons who do not participate either mistakenly think they are ineligible or do not know they are eligible. The federal government currently is doing nothing to address this problem. Congress in 1981 adopted proposals by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) to terminate all federal funding for outreach efforts to inform eligible poor people about food stamps and to abolish the requirement that states conduct such outreach.

Available data on hunger suggest that the lack of coordinated government efforts to inform the poor about food stamp eligibility may itself

perpetuate hunger and its ill effects. The Massachusetts Health Department study that found up to 17,500 stunted children in the state also found that 32 percent of low-income children surveyed who were eligible for food stamps were not receiving them.

Even among those who do receive food stamp benefits, many still may be unable to meet their nutritional needs. Households receiving food stamps have average gross incomes of only \$376 a month (\$4,512 a year on an annualized basis) and average cash assets of \$55 (in 1983). USDA data show that the incomes of food stamp households have declined in real terms since 1975. Congressional Research Service data show that from 1970 to 1986 AFDC benefits, on which many food stamp families depend, plummeted 33 percent (after adjusting for inflation) in the typical state. This means less money to spend on food and other essentials. Since many food stamp recipients are outside the work force, they are not helped much by improvements in the economy. Two of every three food stamp recipients are low-income children or elderly or disabled persons. Poor children alone constitute half of all recipients.

A further reason that many food stamp recipients still are struggling to meet their basic nutritional needs is the inadequacy of the program's benefit levels. Food stamp benefits are based on the cost of the "thrifty food plan," USDA's least expensive, bare bones food plan. This food plan is itself inadequate: USDA's own studies have shown that five of every six families whose food expenditures equal the cost of the thrifty food plan fail to obtain the Recommended Daily Allowances for basic nutrients.

Child Nutrition Programs

The four basic child nutrition programs—the school lunch, school breakfast, child care food, and summer food programs—were reduced by 29 percent from FY 1982 through FY 1985. Funding for these programs was cut by more than \$5 billion during this four-year period.

Legislation enacted in October 1986 did include some modest increases in a few child nutrition programs (particularly the school breakfast and special milk programs), but the increases totaled just 2 percent of the annual amount that the child nutrition programs were cut in 1981.

As a result of the deep reductions in child nutrition programs enacted in 1981, the number of children receiving school lunches each day fell by about 2 million, after adjusting for changes in school enrollment. The number of low-income children receiving free or reduced-price lunches dropped by close to 700,000.

The school lunch cuts were made in two main ways: first, by lowering the level below which families' incomes must fall in order for their children to qualify for the lunches, and second, by cutting back on federal dollars to support the program. While the largest dollar amounts cut affected middle-income children, the steepest cuts in percentage terms came from support for reduced-price lunches served to near-poor children, leading to a substantial drop in the number of these youngsters who receive school lunches. The government's reduction in overall support for the lunch program meant that some schools (possibly totaling as many as 2,000 nationwide) dropped the program, often leaving their low-income students completely without access to free meals.

Federal funding reductions enacted in 1981 also hurt the Child Care Food Program, which helps defray the cost of meals provided to children who are in day care. Nearly \$130 million a year was cut from federal support for meals served to children in day care centers and homes: Meals provided to

children in day care settings now are limited to two meals and one snack each day, regardless of the time the children actually spend in day care (which can exceed eight hours a day).

Cuts enacted in 1981 also have resulted in sizable reductions in the summer food program, which continues the school lunch program during the non-school summer months in some low-income areas. This led to the termination of many summer food programs operated by churches and religious organizations, YMCAs and YWCAs, boys' and girls' clubs, settlement houses, and similar nonprofit organizations. Only programs run by school systems or local governments were allowed to remain in operation. The cuts ended summer lunches for approximately 400,000 low-income children.

WIC

One program that has not been cut during the Reagan years, despite Administration efforts, is WIC. But it still helps only a minority of the low-income infants, young children, and pregnant and nursing women at nutritional risk who are eligible to receive its prescription food supplements and nutrition counseling. WIC is not an entitlement program and therefore can serve only as many poor women, infants, and children as its annual appropriation permits. Although Congress has provided for some growth in WIC (despite several Administration attempts to hold back some or all of these funds), the program still reaches only 3.4 million people, or fewer than half of those eligible. Approximately 100 U.S. counties have no WIC program at all; many other counties maintain waiting lists and have to turn away many eligible mothers and children.

Emergency Food Programs

Two emergency food assistance programs have been instituted by Congress in the 1980s, largely over Administration objections.

In late 1981, prompted by Congress, the Administration announced plans to begin distributing to the needy surplus government cheese stored in government warehouses. In recent years several other surplus food items have been distributed as well.

For more than a year, the Administration attempted to distribute the food through state and local governments, churches, food banks, soup kitchens, and emergency food pantries without providing any funding for the expenses these agencies and organizations had to incur in storing, transporting, and handing out the food. By early 1983, when it had become increasingly apparent that failure to provide funds to help defray these costs was limiting the amount of surplus food reaching the hungry and homeless, Congress acted to provide \$50 million to help cover these costs. Approximately \$50 million has been provided each year since, although the Administration consistently has endeavored to terminate this appropriation.

In addition, since 1983 Congress has provided funds for emergency food and shelter services, with the funds being distributed to local charities and government agencies through a national board of major charitable organizations. In FY 1986 and again in FY 1987, \$70 million was provided for this purpose, although, as of early February 1987, Congress was taking steps to add an additional \$50 million to help the homeless during the 1986-1987 winter.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1988

The Administration's new budget contains an array of proposed new reductions that would cut a total of more than \$1 billion a year from food assistance programs. If enacted, these reductions would impose new hardships on many poor and near-poor children.

Food Stamps

The President proposes:

- Cutting food stamp benefits for most poor food stamp households that receive low-income energy assistance to help them pay their heating bills. Such energy assistance is paid because these households cannot afford to pay their utility bills. Congress repeatedly has enacted legislation specifying that the energy assistance funds are to go toward paying heating and other utility bills, not toward replacing other benefits such as food stamps. Moreover, to avoid presenting poor households with a cruel choice of whether to "heat or eat," Congress explicitly has forbidden USDA from reducing food stamp benefits when low-income households get energy assistance. The Administration proposes to repeal this congressional prohibition, however. Under its proposal, most households' food stamps would be cut \$3 for every \$10 they receive in energy assistance. USDA estimates this would cut food stamp benefits by \$57 million a year.
- Cutting food stamp benefits for poor households in which an unemployed person is enrolled in a training program under the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) and receives a needs-based stipend or allowance to help meet his or her costs for the duration of this program. This proposal could discourage poor, unemployed youths and others who need training the most from enrolling in JTPA programs.
- Reducing federal support to help states defray the costs of operating the food stamp program. This would be done in several ways—through substantially increased sanctions on states with program error rates greater than 5 percent and through reduced federal contributions to help states cover certain administrative costs. The likely effect of these cuts would be to erode services to clients in some areas. In other states, these measures would be likely to put pressure on the entire state welfare department budget, making it even more likely that AFDC benefit levels will not be kept abreast of inflation.

Child Nutrition

President Reagan proposes:

- Terminating all federal support for partially subsidized lunches and breakfasts (as well as meals in day care centers and homes) that are served to children from families with incomes of more than 185 percent of the poverty line (more than \$20,350 for a family of four). This almost certainly would result in thousands of schools dropping out of the school lunch program, on the grounds that it is no longer economically feasible. When schools drop out of the program, poor children in attendance lose their free school lunches as well. For many day care centers, this proposal would mean a loss of funds and put a tighter squeeze on operating budgets.

- Instituting a "means test" in the portion of the Child Care Food Program (CCFP) operated in family day care homes. This would increase paperwork requirements significantly for small day care homes, which typically are run by a mother who is caring for several young children. A substantial number of day care homes, including homes that serve poor children, would be likely to drop out of the program as a consequence. The children could lose the nutritional support and the homes would be released from the licensing or registration requirements that CCFP triggers.
- Cutting out most of the "special milk program." The special milk program currently provides federal support for milk provided to children who attend schools not in the school lunch or breakfast programs. Under the program, a half-pint of milk a day is provided free to poor children and at a reduced price to other children. The Reagan budget would end all federal support except for the free milk provided to poor children. The result is that schools still would have to do much of the paperwork, but would lose most of the federal funds involved. Some schools now in the program, especially those with a relatively small number of poor children, could be expected to drop out of the program altogether, with the likely result that their poor students will lose the free milk.
- Cutting away a sixth of the federal support for meals served to poor children in summer months under the "summer food program." Currently the federal subsidy per meal is somewhat higher in the summer program than in the regular school lunch program, because operation of the summer program generally entails somewhat higher costs, such as the special janitorial expense of opening a school building in the summer just to operate the program. (Because of Administration-sponsored cuts in 1981, only schools and not year-round social services agencies can operate the program.) The Administration budget now proposes to ignore these higher costs, and would cut meal subsidies in the summer program down to the levels provided in the regular school lunch and breakfast programs.

Even before these proposed cuts, it already was difficult to convince many schools and municipal agencies in low-income areas to operate the summer food program—the program reaches only one-eighth the number of low-income children reached by the regular school lunch program. The new Administration proposals would make this situation more severe, in all likelihood prompting some schools and municipal agencies to discontinue the program altogether or causing meal quality to decline in those that do continue the program with lower federal funding.

- Terminating the small (\$5 million a year) Nutrition Education and Training program, which supports state and local efforts to provide nutrition education to children in schools and day care centers.

WIC and CSFP

- The President proposes setting funding for the WIC program in FY 1988 at a level that would provide program benefits to 50,000 fewer women, infants, and children than currently are being served.

From 1989 to 1992, the budget envisions that funding for WIC would fall still further behind need, eventually serving some 200,000 fewer persons each month than are served today. This would run a serious risk of leading to more low-birthweight births and prematurely born infants, more anemic children, and more children with other health problems—and possibly even more infant deaths.

- The budget also proposes sizable cuts in the Commodity Supplemental Food Program (CSFP), a program similar to WIC that operates in twenty-six localities and provides nutritious food supplements to 150,000 to 200,000 low-income pregnant women, infants, children, and elderly persons. The budget would cut funding for this program by 20 percent, which would deny these services to 30,000 to 40,000 low-income persons.

Emergency Food Assistance

The Administration's budget threatens particularly severe cuts in the Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP), which provides U.S. government surplus food to local government agencies, food banks, food pantries, soup kitchens, and other charities. Because many of these organizations operate on shoestring budgets and because local agencies and charities incur substantial costs in shipping, storing, and distributing the food, the program provides \$50 million a year to help defray these costs at state and local levels.

The budget would terminate all funding to help cover the costs of getting the food to the needy. The Administration is so anxious to cut this program that it proposes to end it not beginning in FY 1988, but in March 1987.

- The budget proposes to take \$29 million of the \$50 million appropriated for FY 1987 and use it instead to pay for annual pay raises for federal employees in a number of USDA agencies. The money would be lost permanently to the emergency food program. Moreover, although Congress would have to approve such a change in the use of these funds, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) has ordered USDA to withhold the full \$29 million from the emergency food program—and to "sit on" these funds while waiting for Congress to act on the proposal to use the money for pay raises. The remaining portion of the FY 1987 appropriation was to run out in early March 1987. The Administration would provide no more funds unless Congress enacted a new law before March compelling release of all appropriated FY 1987 funds to keep the program alive past that date.
- For FY 1988, the budget proposes no funds at all for the emergency food program. Although USDA says it still would provide the surplus food, the lack of funds to cover the cost of distributing the food would mean that far less of it would reach the needy. Surveys of local charities involved in distributing the surplus food have found that many cannot afford to cover the storage, transportation, and distribution costs themselves and likely would be forced to stop distributing the surplus food if the federal funds are cut off. These surveys also indicate that some other charities that might be willing to distribute the food would have to curtail other services to the hungry and homeless to free up resources to cover the food distribution costs.

- The budget does propose to continue the one other program that addresses emergency food needs, the Emergency Food and Shelter Program, which distributes federal funds to local agencies through a national board of charitable organizations. Funding for this program would be raised from \$70 million to \$80 million, but the \$10 million increase would come out of a separate budget account for shelter programs for the homeless (which would be reduced from \$15 million to \$5 million).

CDF Recommendations

As an immediate step to deal with hunger in our nation, Congress should act to assure that poor families have a better chance of making it through the month without running out of food, that school breakfasts provide more adequate nutrition for the poor children who depend on them, and that WIC reaches more low-income women and children who need the program's benefits.

To accomplish these goals, the Children's Defense Fund's Legislative Agenda would:

- Raise the appropriations levels for the WIC and CSFP programs so that more eligible low-income women, infants, and children can be served. Currently, due to funding limitations, these programs reach fewer than half of the low-income pregnant women, infants, and children who are at nutritional risk and who meet the eligibility criteria. A multi-year effort to ensure that by the early 1990s all eligible needy women and children receive benefits means that an FY 1988 appropriation increase of at least \$200 million is needed. USDA's own five-year study of WIC, issued in 1986, found that the program reduces late fetal deaths, decreases the rate of premature births, increases the proportion of low-income pregnant women seeking prenatal care, increases head circumference (which usually means brain size) of infants born to women receiving WIC during pregnancy, and improves diets for women, infants, and children.
- Base food stamp benefit levels on the current cost of USDA's thrifty food plan, rather than on the cost of the thrifty plan for a period in the past. Presently, food stamp benefits for any given fiscal year are based on the cost of the thrifty plan for June of the *previous* fiscal year. As a result, the benefit levels are outdated as soon as they take effect—and they become further outdated with every passing month. Basing benefit levels for a given fiscal year on the best available projections of food costs for that *same* fiscal year at least would ensure that benefits approximate the *current* actual cost of the thrifty plan for families that, by definition, have no income to spare.
- Reinstate the food stamp outreach program to inform low-income persons about their potential eligibility for this program. Studies consistently show that a major reason for non-participation by eligible families—especially families (such as the working poor) who are not on welfare—is a mistaken belief that they are not eligible for food stamps. Outreach efforts can help get proper information to poor families so they can decide whether or not they wish to apply for this benefit.

- Incorporate into the food stamp program a provision (comparable to that used in the AFDC program) under which the first \$50 of monthly income from child support is disregarded in computing benefits. (A provision purporting to address this issue was included in food stamp legislation enacted in 1985, but was designed in a way that makes it wholly ineffective; the provision takes effect only in the very unlikely event that states agree to pay 100 percent of the additional food stamp benefit costs involved.) Providing a meaningful child support disregard should encourage more effective child support enforcement while also facilitating more uniform and coordinated administration of AFDC and food stamps.
- Increase the food stamp asset limits to the levels recommended in 1984 by the President's Task Force on Food Assistance. Assets limits were not adjusted from 1971 to 1985, despite high inflation during this period. Then, in 1985, Congress passed a small upward adjustment that was less than President Reagan's own Task Force on Food Assistance had recommended. This provision of the CDF Legislative Agenda would raise the basic asset limit from \$2,000 to \$2,250, and the limit on the market value of a vehicle from \$4,500 to \$5,500, as the President's Task Force proposed.
- Reinstate a key provision that was included in the Child Care Food Program prior to the 1981 budget reductions that allowed day care centers and homes to provide up to three meals and two snacks (or "meal supplements") a day. The 1981 cuts leveled federal support to two meals and one snack a day, regardless of how many hours the children remain in child care. As a result, young children who are in day care settings for eight to ten hours a day—due to their parents' working long hours and needing to travel or make transportation arrangements to drop off or pick up their children—may not be fed as often as they need. Day care centers for migrant farmworkers' children whose parents work long hours in the fields have found this a particular problem.

These proposals represent modest first steps. If enacted, they still would not make up for the bulk of the cuts made in food assistance during the Reagan years. To reverse these trends and address our nation's serious hunger problem, we must mount a long-term and major national effort that will improve wages, income maintenance programs, and the food stamp program, and reduce unemployment, so that families will be able to meet their subsistence needs, including the fundamental human right to adequate food.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Nutrition: Funding and Budget Requests, FY1981-FY1988
(in millions of dollars)

	Food Stamps	WIC	School Lunch ¹	School Breakfast	Child Care Food Program	Summer Food
FY1981 actual	\$11,470.0 ²	\$900.0	\$3,004.5	\$322.6	\$295.0	\$148.8
FY1982 proposed	9,756.0	637.5	2,120.0	299.5	242.8	0.0
FY1982 actual	11,079.3 ²	904.3	2,486.4	319.4	270.5	88.8
FY1983 proposed	9,531.1	637.5 ³	2,665.3	— ⁴	— ⁴	0.0
FY1983 actual	11,989.7	1,160.0	2,833.5	354.4	335.2	91.9
FY1984 proposed	10,901.3	1,160.0	2,709.3	— ⁴	— ⁴	— ⁴
FY1984 actual	11,722.9	1,360.0	3,004.1	364.9	378.1	104.6
FY1985 proposed	10,780.9	1,254.3	3,138.4	393.4	— ⁴	— ⁴
FY1985 actual	11,743.0	1,500.0	3,134.9	407.0	434.9	115.1
FY1986 proposed	11,855.8	1,479.8	2,868.5	414.5	322.3	117.2
FY1986 actual	11,764.9	1,580.5	3,158.5	404.9	475.8	121.8
After Gramm-Rudman	11,762.3	1,580.5	3,158.5	404.9	475.8	121.8
FY1987 proposed	11,518.6	1,617.0	2,911.2	414.1	338.1	111.7
FY1987 actual	11,793.3	1,663.5	3,366.4	453.7	537.2	128.3
FY1988 proposed	11,684.6	1,687.5	3,038.9	454.5	373.6	115.4

¹Includes commodities for child nutrition.

²Actual food stamp funding levels shown here for FY1981 and FY1982 include funds for the food stamp program in Puerto Rico through June 30, 1982. Food stamp funding levels for other years do not include Puerto Rico, since the food stamp program in Puerto Rico was ended on June 30, 1982 and replaced by a nutrition block grant. The Puerto Rico block grant is funded at \$206.5 million in the last quarter of FY1982, \$825 million a year for FY1983 through FY1986, and \$852.5 million in FY1987.

³Proposed to repeal, include in Maternal and Child Health Block Grant; funding would have been cut by 30 percent.

⁴Proposed to repeal, include in block grant.

9. EDUCATION

All children today need a good education to realize their human potential and become self-sufficient and contributing adults. In early childhood, they need stimulation and patient teaching. During their school years, children must gain the basic abilities to read and compute. They also need to acquire less easily measurable skills: how to think clearly and independently, how to make critical judgments, and how to arrive at decisions on their own.

Formal education is now a virtually universal prerequisite for employment in our nation. While good schooling was not always essential to economic survival, dramatic changes in American society in this century have made it so today. From 1900 to 1981, employment in America's white collar and service sectors rose from one-sixth to more than one-half of all jobs. At the same time, agricultural, blue collar, and manufacturing jobs fell from three-quarters to fewer than one-third of all jobs. Even blue collar or agricultural employment today requires far greater skills and education than it did in our grandparents' and great-grandparents' time.

In 1983 and 1984, the business-led Committee for Economic Development identified the crucial occupational skills that a young person needs to obtain entry-level employment. The skills businesses are looking for include high levels of literacy, skill with numbers, responsible attitudes toward work, the ability to communicate well, and the ability to continue to learn on the job.

A sound education is important not only to the economic well-being of individual citizens but to the well-being of our society as a whole, politically and socially as well as economically. An educated citizenry is needed to participate in a modern and complex democratic society. Second, our nation needs competent, skilled workers in order to compete in the world marketplace. Finally, our society is aging rapidly and thus is increasingly dependent on high productivity from future generations to meet its economic needs and shoulder its public responsibilities. Between 1980 and 2020 the number of workers contributing to the Social Security system for each Social Security recipient will drop by nearly one-third. And by the 1990s one of three workers will be a member of a minority group.

A national investment in education will save our society money in the long term. A recent estimate of the total lifetime earning loss from the dropouts in the high school class of 1981 alone is a staggering \$228 billion, with an approximate loss of tax revenue of \$68.4 billion.

Our Educational System Is Failing to Meet the Needs of Too Many Children, Especially Low-Income Children

The vast majority (87 percent) of American children from all income groups are educated in our public school system. Many schools are doing well. Schools located in middle-income or more affluent communities are most likely to have the resources and teaching staff necessary to offer children a full range of opportunities to learn.

But the public school system is failing to educate many children, especially those from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. There are several symptoms of this failure, including a high dropout rate (which disproportionately affects poor youths) and a persistent achievement gap between well-off children and poor children, and between blacks and Hispanics and whites.

The proportion of youths who graduate from high school has increased substantially in the twentieth century, peaking in the 1968 school year when there were nearly 77 new graduates for each 100 seventeen-year-olds. While dropout rates cannot be calculated from these data since students may graduate after they are seventeen, the data give a sense of how our schools are doing and it is reasonable to assume that dropout rates go down when seventeen-year-old graduation rates go up, and vice versa. But progress in the graduation rate essentially stopped in the early 1970s and even has reversed course a little.

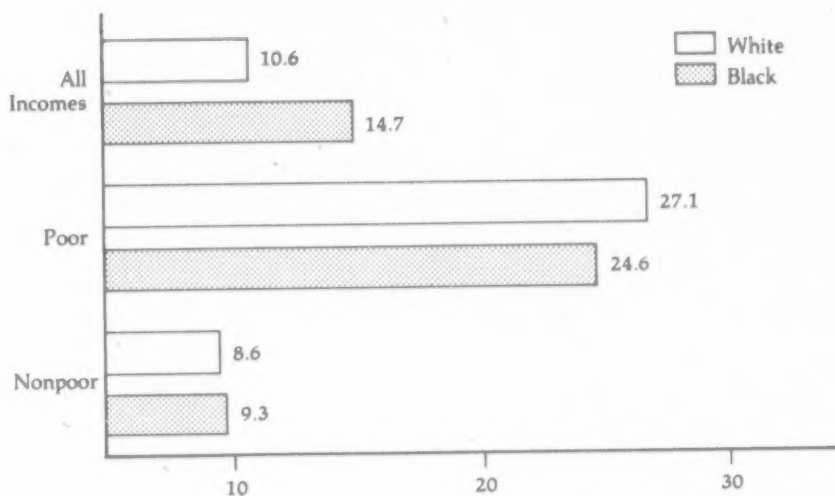
Number of High School Graduates Compared with Population 17 Years of Age

<i>School Year</i>	<i>Number per 100</i>
1900	6.4
1910	8.8
1920	16.8
1930	29.0
1940	50.8
1950	59.0
1960	64.9
1966	74.7
1970	76.7
1974	74.4
1978	73.0
1980	71.4
1981	71.8
1982	72.9
1983	73.5 (prelim.)

Every year, approximately 700,000 students at the ninth grade level or above drop out. The dropout problem disproportionately afflicts the poor, including high proportions of children from racial and ethnic minority groups. According to the National Center for Educational Statistics, the dropout rate among all students who were sophomores in 1980 was 15 percent. This is a somewhat conservative estimate, because it does not count the many students who leave before the spring of their sophomore year. The dropout rate among minorities was much higher: for Hispanic students it was 26 percent; among blacks, 19 percent; and among Native Americans, a startling 48 percent.

To a significant degree, these racial variations merely reflect the effects of the higher poverty rates suffered by minority groups. When poverty rates are controlled for, black and white dropout rates are essentially identical. Non-poor black youths drop out at a rate (9.3 percent) that is only marginally higher than that of non-poor white youths (8.6 percent). And poor black youths drop out at a rate (24.6 percent) slightly lower than that of poor whites (27.1 percent). Regardless of their race, youths from poor families are three to four times more likely to drop out than those from more affluent households.

Percentages of Persons Ages 20-21 Who Are Not Enrolled In School and Are Not High School Graduates, by Race and Poverty Status, 1983



According to the Educational Testing Service, children who drop out tend first to have other problems that hinder their school performance. They have lower standardized test scores and lower grades than students who complete

high school. They more often have disciplinary problems, including suspensions, probation, or trouble with the law. Four out of ten girls who drop out do so because of pregnancy or marriage (which often is entered into because of pregnancy).

The lack of a diploma, often compounded by one or more other problems, means that youths who drop out of school experience many disadvantages later. They are less likely than graduates to have a job: in 1985, only 76 percent of men and 44 percent of the women twenty-five to sixty-four years old without high school diplomas were working, while 90 percent of men and 63 percent of women with high school diplomas were working.

In 1983, men who had dropped out of high school earned an average of \$14,568, or only three-quarters of what high school graduates earned and about one-half of what men who had attended college earned. The figures for women were comparable.

Average Earnings by Educational Level Attained, 1983

	<i>Dropouts</i>	<i>High School Graduates</i>	<i>Some College Attendance</i>
Men	\$14,568	\$19,459	\$27,861
Women	\$ 7,299	\$10,083	\$14,369

In addition, employed dropouts tend to be clustered in occupations that have lower status and fewer opportunities for advancement.

The dropout problem takes its toll on the next generation, as well. In a study of the 1982-1983 period, in families in which both parents were high school graduates, 7 percent of children were poor; where one parent had graduated, 20 percent of the children were poor; and where neither parent had completed high school, 39 percent of the children were poor. The child poverty rates were even higher in households headed by a single parent who was not a high school graduate. Fully 81 percent of children in households headed by single females were poor in the same time period if the mother had not graduated, compared with 50 percent if she had.

Another key measure of the failure of schools to teach all children well—and a key cause of the dropout rate—is the persistent gap in achievement between well-off and disadvantaged students. While recent years have seen some narrowing of the gap between the achievement test scores of minority and non-minority students, the educational deficits suffered by minority and disadvantaged children remain substantial. According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), the average black student's mathematics score, which was one-third below the non-minority average in 1972, was still one-fourth below this average in 1981. Similar deficits, despite relative improvement in the 1970s, persist on SAT scores.

Poor children are likely to do worse in school for a variety of reasons, not all of which have to do with the school experience itself. In most cases, their weaker performance reflects their circumstances, not their potential. Since 1980, for example, while they still scored below the national average, tests of

nine- and thirteen-year-olds in disadvantaged urban communities showed they gained ground relative to the nation as a whole on the NAEP math and reading assessments. But the odds too often are stacked against their learning and development from the beginning. Many poor mothers cannot gain access to the prenatal health care they need. As a consequence, their children are more likely to suffer low birthweight and sometimes resulting learning disabilities. Based on current rates of low-birthweight births, nearly a quarter of a million children enter school each year far more likely than other children either to be educationally impaired or to experience major problems in school.

Poor children also often do not receive adequate nutrition or medical care, which hinders their development. Their parents tend to have received more limited education themselves and are therefore frequently less able than more well-off parents to provide support for their children's learning. Further, poor families are less likely to be able to afford quality child care or preschool arrangements that can enhance a child's early development and get him or her off to a strong start in school. Recent research shows that children who participate in quality preschool programs do better in school and are much more likely to graduate from high school than those without such experiences. The psychological stress of living in poverty and its many attendant pressures also interfere with children's school performance.

All too often, these early hindrances to a poor child's development then are compounded by a school experience that is generally inferior to the public school education that more well-off peers receive. Because of interstate and district variations in spending, some schools have far fewer resources than others. In 1985-1986, state revenues provided about 50 percent of total elementary and secondary school revenues. Wealthier states spend a great deal more per pupil than poor states. For example, in Mississippi, which has the lowest per capita income in the nation, public elementary and secondary schools spent only \$2,305 per pupil in 1985-1986. More than twice as much (\$4,888 per pupil) was spent in Connecticut, which has the third highest per capita income.

Even between different areas within a given state, resources can vary widely. Forty-three and one-half percent of public kindergarten through twelfth-grade (K-12) education costs were supported by local rather than state or federal revenue in 1985-1986. Wealthier localities are much more likely to provide their schools with more resources and better qualified teachers. Even in New Jersey, which has attempted to compensate for these local variations, per-pupil spending levels range from a low of \$3,404 per pupil in a poor urban district to \$5,284 per pupil in a wealthy suburban district.

Too often low-income schools do not foster high student achievement. Many studies indicate that the correlation between poverty income levels and low pupil achievement is high for schools or attendance areas with high concentrations of low-income students. Schools with many low-income children have fewer fiscal resources, attract less experienced teachers, and generally do not have a community constituency as able as other communities to contribute to a school's educational program or monitor its performance.

Most states have done far too little to compensate for this unfairness. The state education reform movement (now in its fourth year), a movement to raise standards and improve student performance, has yet to develop an agenda designed to provide disadvantaged students with the resources and attention they need. Virtually all of the nearly \$2 billion states earmarked in the 1985-1986 school year to implement the reforms will be spent on initiatives that, while often helpful to all children, are not specifically targeted on poor children: providing teachers with incentives such as higher pay and promotions (\$795.6

million); reducing class sizes and making other improvements in school or classroom structure (\$554.2 million); and developing enriched curricula and educational programs (\$552.1 million).

Of the forty-seven states studied, only thirteen specifically targeted money on "at-risk" youths, and the total amount was only \$67.3 million—merely half the total that twenty-three of the states have targeted on programs to benefit gifted and talented students. And even these funds are threatened if the many states facing economic setbacks cut their education budgets.

In addition, the education reform movement has meant that many states have required students—including disadvantaged students—to meet higher standards without providing enough resources to enable those who need help to meet them. For example, forty-one states have stiffened their graduation requirements, in most cases holding back students who fail to meet them. This practice is not only costly (\$3,700 is the average per-student expenditure for a year, and therefore the average per-student cost of repeating a grade) but often futile: research indicates that most children who fail to master material one year gain little by repeating it a second year. Studies also indicate that holding children back means many of them will enter junior high school when they are much older than their peers—making them significantly more likely to drop out.

Schools *can* make a difference for poor children. For too long too many people have thought otherwise. But recent research on effective schools is showing that there are many things that schools can do to ensure that all students learn. Five general characteristics distinguish effective from ineffective schools. They are: strong leadership from the principal in setting the tone of the school, in deciding on instructional strategies, and in managing school resources; high expectations for students both academically and in life in general; an orderly, pleasant school environment; heavy emphasis on the acquisition of basic academic skills; and program evaluation based on measured student outcomes.

The progress made in a New Haven elementary school shows that even schools in low-income areas can become effective and provide an environment in which all children can learn. In 1968 an "effective schools program" was initiated by the New Haven school system and the Yale Child Study Center. The program was implemented at the King School, which in 1969 ranked thirty-second among the thirty-three elementary schools in New Haven in reading and mathematics achievement on the Metropolitan Achievement Test. The school's effectiveness was hampered by high absentee rates of students and teachers and frequent conflicts among children, between children and staff, and between parents and the school.

By 1976 and 1977, however, the special program addressing these problems showed substantial results. Students who had been in the King School for four years scored at grade level on achievement tests. As an entire class, the King enrollees ranked ahead of those at all twenty-two low-income schools in the city. They had the third best attendance record in the city in 1976, and conflict at the school had been reduced greatly. Many other such examples prove that good schooling makes a difference to children, regardless of their economic background.

Federal Efforts To Promote Educational Achievement Are Effective but Must Be Expanded To Serve More Children

The federal government can and must take steps to ensure that less advantaged children have access to the same educational opportunities as their more advantaged peers. The federal government already provides considerable

financial support through the tax system to help Americans in general offer their children a good education. It forgoes billions in income tax revenues by allowing state and local tax payments used to finance public education (as well as other public services) to be deducted from federal income taxes by taxpayers who itemize their deductions. This disproportionately helps well-to-do taxpayers and affluent communities. Government grants and research contracts for colleges and universities together amount to many billions of dollars of additional federal support not targeted on poor children.

In contrast, the federal commitment to providing extra help to meet the special educational needs of disadvantaged children—whether poor, handicapped, minority, Native American, with limited English proficiency, or from refugee or migrant families—has lagged. This is particularly unfortunate since the results of such programs have been so promising. The best overall measure of the impact of these programs over recent decades—the achievement trends for nine- to thirteen-year-old black children marked by the NAEP during the 1970s—shows they gained ground in math and reading achievement while other youths' skills remained at a standstill.

Disadvantaged children receive special federal help under Chapter I of the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act of 1981 (formerly the Title I program). Chapter I funds help support remedial education programs, usually in elementary schools, designed to give poor children the extra help they need to keep from falling behind their peers. The main Chapter I component gives funds to local education agencies (LEAs) based on the number of children living in poor families, requiring this help to be targeted on the most educationally disadvantaged children in each district. Seventy-five percent of the LEA funds are used for basic instructional services, such as compensatory instruction in reading and math. Other parts of Chapter I fund state agencies that provide services to migrant, handicapped, and neglected or delinquent children.

Results from many studies indicate that Chapter I has helped raise academic achievement levels of enrolled students. The Sustaining Effects Study, commissioned by the U.S. Department of Education, found that Chapter I students did better than a control group of students in math and in reading. Students gained seven to twelve months in reading and eleven to twelve months in math for every year they participated in the program—a significantly higher gain than they would have achieved without Chapter I's help. Data from the NAEP also indicate that students in Chapter I-eligible schools scored higher in aggregate reading achievement scores than those in non-Chapter I schools. Moreover, by helping poor children keep up in school, Chapter I saves the cost of grade repetition, which is more than four times as high as that of Chapter I services.

Handicapped children get the special assistance they need to learn under the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (Public Law 94-142). Before the law's enactment in 1975, virtually every state in the union excluded many handicapped children from school or put children in programs ill-suited to their needs. PL 94-142 ensures that every handicapped child between the ages of three and twenty-one who resides in a state participating in the program has a right to a free, appropriate, public education in the least restrictive environment. The program serves youngsters with a range of handicapping conditions—from those with mild learning disabilities to those who are severely multiply handicapped. The Act also provides funds for: educational services and demonstration programs for preschool handicapped children; state and local efforts to provide education for deaf, blind, and severely handicapped children; programs for handicapped youths who are making the transition to post-

secondary education or employment; and a range of other activities, including the operation of resource centers, research, training, and dissemination of information.

Numerous studies show that providing special education and related services to handicapped children before they enter elementary school helps children with their later learning and thus reduces the need for subsequent and costly services. One study estimates that the return on the initial investment in two years of preschool is three and one-half times the cost. Elementary, secondary, and postsecondary handicapped students who have been provided with special programs and coordinated services are more likely to make a successful transition to employment and independent living in the community.

To serve children for whom English is a second language, federal Bilingual Education Act funds support a wide variety of education programs. Transitional bilingual educational programs give a child enough instruction in his or her native language to enable the child to meet a school's requirements for promotion and graduation. Another variety, special alternative instructional programs, need not use a child's native language but help the child become sufficiently competent in English to progress and graduate. Yet another, developmental bilingual education programs, assist equal numbers of children with limited English proficiency and children who speak fluent English achieve competence in English and a second language. Grants also are used to strengthen and use effective programs for demonstration purposes and to help students' family members learn English. The Act also provides funds for data collection, evaluation, research, and the operation of a clearinghouse, as well as for support services that include teacher training and fellowships and technical assistance to school districts.

One highly regarded evaluation of the overall effectiveness of bilingual education concludes that bilingual programs help the children they serve learn more than they would in regular classrooms. Participants in bilingual education programs consistently make measurable gains compared to students who do not receive any support services based on their language needs. Such gains occur in English language tests of reading, language skills, mathematics, and total achievement as well as in native language tests of reading, language, mathematics, writing, social studies, listening comprehension, and attitudes toward school and self.

Modest federal efforts also address the special educational needs of children from Native American, refugee, and migrant families. For example, the Migrant High School Equivalency Program (HEP) is designed to help migrant children (who often don't attend school regularly because they help their parents do farm work) obtain the equivalent of a secondary school diploma and gain employment or admission to postsecondary education. Evidence shows the program is working: more than 80 percent of students participating in HEP in 1980-1984 passed the GED exam.

Further, federal funds have helped economically disadvantaged students attend college. The means-tested Pell grants program provides direct grant aid to low-income students. Federal loan assistance is available to low- and middle-income students through Guaranteed Student Loans. The College Work Study Program provides federal funds to subsidize jobs for low-income students. The "TRIO" program for disadvantaged students provides supportive services such as counseling and tutoring to low-income students who are the first generation in their families to attend college.

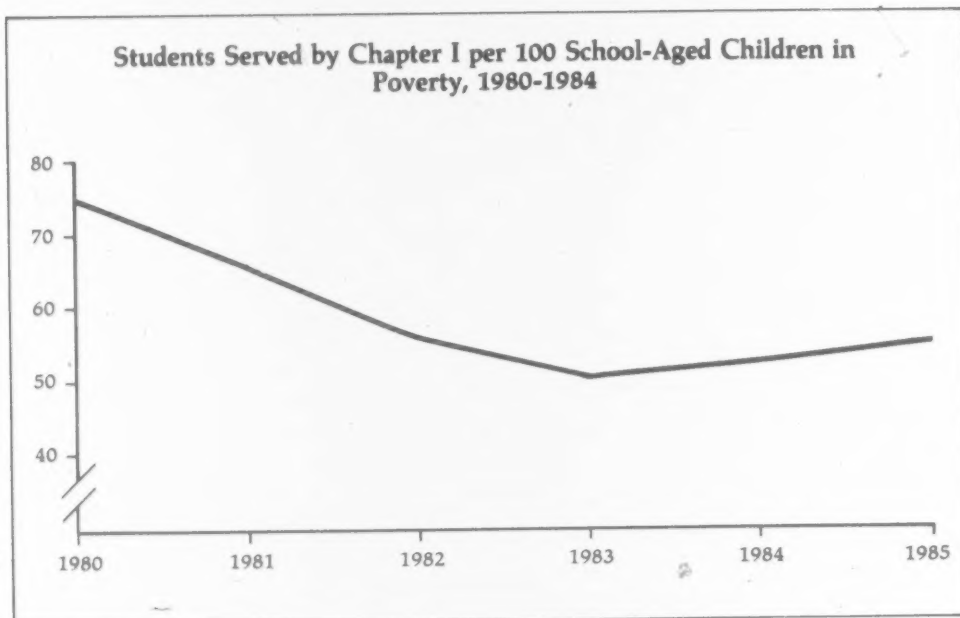
Federal student aid programs and supportive services for poor and minority students have enabled many to attend college. Financial aid is particularly crucial to the college hopes of black and Hispanic students, whose

parents are less likely to be able to help pay for tuition. In 1981 nearly half of black college-bound seniors came from families with annual incomes of less than \$12,000, compared to only 10 percent of their white peers.

Such aid also helps low-income youths (including minorities) stay in college longer. Black students who receive financial aid are twice as likely to stay in four-year colleges until completion as those who do not. Low-income students served by TRIO programs such as Upward Bound and Special Services to Disadvantaged Students are more than twice as likely to complete their first year in college and four times as likely to earn a college degree as non-participating low-income students. Of all students who participated in CAMP (the College Assistance Migrant Program) in 1980-1984, more than 90 percent completed at least two years of college (including community colleges). Two-thirds remained in school even longer.

Under the Reagan Administration, the federal government's crucial role in enhancing the educational opportunity of all of these groups has diminished, due to funding cutbacks in most programs and the exacerbating erosion caused by inflation. The percentage of the total school dollar that the federal government contributes to elementary and secondary schools has declined from 9.2 percent in 1979-1980 to 6.4 percent in 1985-1986. Today, federal education programs targeted to help poor and minority students are falling further behind in meeting the needs of eligible children.

Chapter I—one of the few programs that has more funds in FY 1987 than in FY 1981—nonetheless has lost ground against inflation and the rising



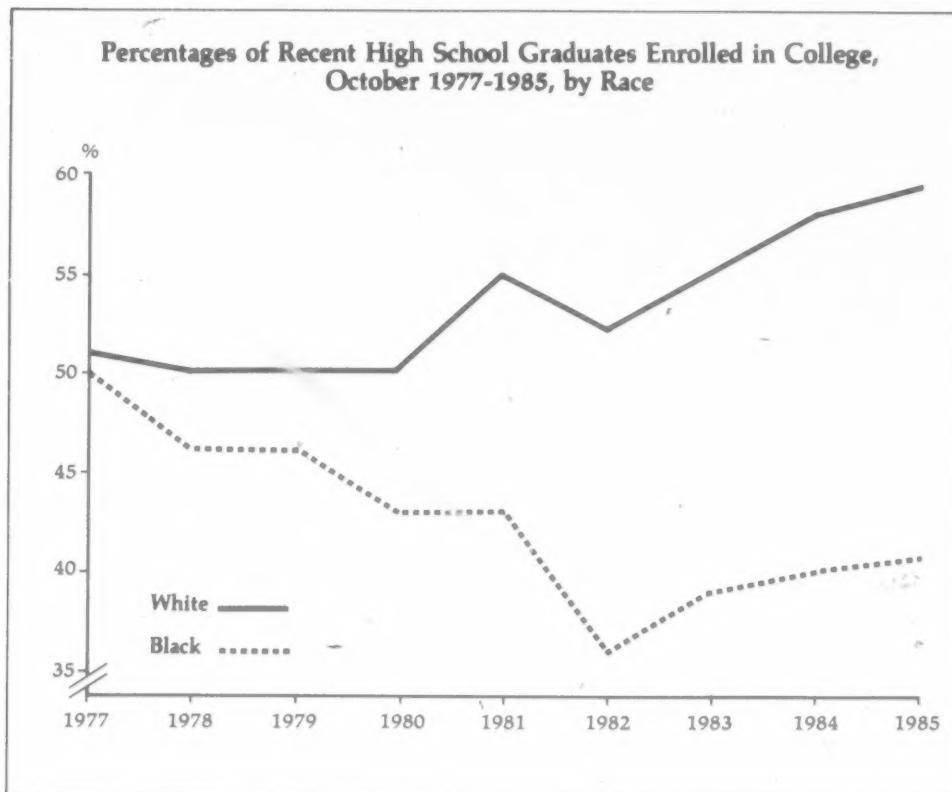
number of children in poverty. As a 1985 Congressional Budget Office report said:

"In real terms, the 1985 appropriation for Chapter I is roughly 29 percent lower than the 1979 appropriation. The real funding per poor child has declined even more markedly; in 1983, the last year for which data on the number of children in poverty are available, real appropriations per child in poverty were 53 percent of the 1979 level."

As a result, Chapter I served only fifty-four students for every 100 poor school-aged children in 1985; in 1980, this ratio was seventy-five per 100.

Education programs for the handicapped also have lost ground. Federal spending on PL 94-142, as a percentage of total estimated spending on education for handicapped children, dropped dramatically from a fairly stable 12 percent in the late 1970s to a low of 7 percent after the early cuts made by the Reagan Administration. Federal-level cuts, along with reduced spending by states and localities reported by the Council for Exceptional Children, mean larger class sizes, longer waiting lists, curtailment of services, reduction in early intervention initiatives for children younger than six, and rule changes to limit the number of children served by particular programs.

Few students needing language support services are getting federal help. Federal bilingual education funds are well below FY 1981 levels. Studies suggest that in 1985 there were between 2.4 million and 3.6 million students with



limited English proficiency in the United States who were in need of such services. Of these, the Department of Education estimates that only a small minority are being served. Unless services are expanded, this shortfall will become far more acute in the future, as the number of children in the United States with limited English proficiency is projected to increase by 35 percent by the year 2000.

Federal support for college education for disadvantaged students has failed to keep pace with skyrocketing tuition costs. For example, in FY 1986, Pell grants provided a maximum of \$2,100 per poor student—about 20 percent higher than the FY 1980 maximum award of \$1,750. Tuition in public and private colleges had soared by 75 percent in the same period, according to the American Council on Education.

These factors are among the causes of a disturbing trend: the full-time college enrollment rates for college-eligible eighteen- to twenty-four-year-olds declined between 1978 and 1982 for the poorest students. Enrollment rates among youths with annual family incomes of less than \$10,000 dropped by 16.8 percent, while those of youths with family incomes of less than \$20,000 fell 8.6 percent. Enrollment increased among students from wealthier families during the same period.

In 1977, 51 percent of white and 50 percent of black high school graduates went on to college. Since then, the racial disparity has grown substantially.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1988

The Reagan Administration's FY 1988 budget calls for massive reductions in overall federal spending for education. Total education funding would be cut from the \$19.5 billion appropriated for FY 1987 to \$14 billion in FY 1988, a 28 percent decrease.

First, the President proposes that FY 1988 funding for a number of the major federal elementary and secondary education programs be virtually frozen at FY 1987 appropriated levels: \$500 million for Chapter II, \$47.2 million for Indian Education (only \$200,000 more than FY 1987), \$75 million for Magnet Schools assistance, and \$99.2 million for bilingual education.

- **Chapter I:** The Department of Education portion of the budget cites the education of disadvantaged elementary and secondary school children as a high priority, yet the budget only increases the financial assistance to local school districts for this purpose by \$200 million. This increase is far less than the \$1.5 billion the Congressional Budget Office, in a 1985 report, said was necessary merely to fully offset the decline of real funding levels attributable to inflation, much less the additional erosion caused by the increased number of children in poverty.

In other areas, the Administration's FY 1988 budget proposes reductions in or elimination of important programs. Programs to be cut include:

- **Immigrant and refugee education:** Since 1984 the federal government has supported special educational services for immigrant children who have attended school in the United States for fewer than three years and for students who are designated as refugees. The Administration proposes to decrease funding from \$45.9 million in FY 1987 to zero in FY 1988.

- **Education for the handicapped:** The state grant program for handicapped children would be reduced from \$1.338 billion in FY 1987 to \$1.259 billion in FY 1988. In addition, grants awarded to states to assist them in providing special education and related services to handicapped preschool children would be reduced from \$180 million to \$85.5 million. Grants to states for developing and implementing statewide systems of coordinated services to handicapped children from birth through age two would be eliminated.
- **Title III support for developing institutions:** The Title III program in FY 1987 provides \$50.7 million for assistance to historically black colleges and universities, and an additional \$95.5 million for financially struggling institutions (often community colleges) that serve disadvantaged students, many of whom are minority. The Administration proposes to keep the black colleges and universities set-aside, but to eliminate the other program in FY 1988 and rescind the entire \$95.5 million for it in FY 1987.
- **Vocational education:** The Administration proposes to eliminate in FY 1988 federal funds used to provide assistance to states in the expansion, improvement, and development of quality vocational programs, on which \$882 million is being spent in FY 1987.

In addition, the President proposes to abolish a number of smaller federal education programs that were established to address specific national priorities or responsibilities. Programs targeted for elimination in the Administration's FY 1988 budget include:

- The High School Equivalency Program (HEP) and the College Migrant Program (CAMP), which help low-income migrant and seasonal farmworkers gain high school diplomas or equivalency certificates and provide stipends and special services to first-year college students (\$7.5 million in FY 1987);
- The Women's Educational Equity Program, which is designed to ensure equal access to educational opportunities for girls and women (\$3.5 million in FY 1987);
- Training and advisory services, which are authorized under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act to provide technical assistance and training to school districts that are in the process of promoting desegregation (\$14 million in FY 1987);
- Follow-Through Program, which bolsters gains made by Head Start children through educational services in the early elementary grades (\$7.2 million in FY 1987);
- Public library services and construction assistance, intended to ensure that all communities have access to public libraries (\$132.5 million in FY 1987).

Finally, the Administration is proposing a huge (\$3.7 billion) cut in FY 1988 in federal financial aid to college students. To achieve these reductions, the FY 1988 budget proposes to cut some programs and eliminate others. The most significant cuts affecting students from low- and moderate-income families will come from:

- **Pell grants:** The Pell grant program provides financial assistance to needy undergraduate students to help finance their education. Pell grant funding would be slashed in FY 1988 to \$2.7 billion from \$3.9 billion in

FY 1987. In addition, the Administration proposes to limit eligibility to students with family incomes of \$20,000 and less. The current income limit is \$28,900. As a result of these proposed changes, approximately 1 million fewer students would receive Pell grants in academic year 1988-1989.

- **Special programs for students from disadvantaged backgrounds (TRIO):** The Administration proposes to halve funding for these programs, which help disadvantaged students pursue their postsecondary education, from \$176.4 million in FY 1987 to \$82.4 million in FY 1988. In addition, the Administration proposes rescissions in FY 1987 spending to bring it to the same level it proposes for FY 1988.

Higher education programs slated for complete elimination in the Administration's FY 1988 budget include:

- **The College Work-Study Program:** This program helps institutions offer employment to students who demonstrate financial need. The approximately \$593 million appropriated in FY 1987 is expected to aid 787,000 students in academic year 1987-1988. The Administration proposes to give no work-study help to these three-quarters of a million students in the 1988-1989 academic year.
- **The Supplemental Education Opportunity Grant Program:** This grant assistance enables many disadvantaged students to attend postsecondary education institutions. At its \$396 million level in FY 1987 it is expected to assist 720,000 students.
- **The State Student Incentive Grant Program:** These incentive grants to states assist them in developing needs-based grant programs for postsecondary students. This program, appropriated at \$5 million in FY 1987, is expected to aid 276,000 students in the 1987-1988 academic year.
- **Perkins Loan Program:** The Administration has proposed eliminating the Perkins Loan Program for low- and moderate-income students (formerly known as National Direct Student Loans) and expanding the new, experimental Income Contingent Loan (ICL) program from \$5 million to \$600 million. Under the Income Contingent Loan program a student's loan repayments would be based on his or her income after graduation from college. Students will be able to borrow up to \$50,000 for their entire postsecondary education, compared to \$18,000 they may borrow now in the Direct Student Loan program. But the interest for the program would be at the market rate (now 8.5 percent). Students currently pay 5 percent on direct loans. In other words, student loans would become unsubsidized, overburdening many students after graduation and in some cases affecting choice of studies as students recognize they will have far larger loan payments to make.

CDF Recommendations

An effective education is necessary for the personal development of our youths as well as for the development of the knowledge and skills they need to be productive and thoughtful members of our society. CDF's Legislative Agenda contains a range of education proposals designed to help children with special needs. The proposals include the expansion of successful federal programs as well as support for promising new efforts.

Successful Federal Programs

The following proposals expand cost-effective federal education programs:

- **Compensatory Education for Disadvantaged Children:** Chapter I is up for reauthorization in 1987. CDF supports the reauthorization of Chapter I and recommends a \$500 million increase in the program each year for two years to expand significantly the number of children served. Some of these expansion funds should be earmarked for pre-school education. Early intervention helps at-risk youths do better in school, and Chapter I funds should be used for school-based early childhood education and development programs for educationally disadvantaged three- to five-year-olds. Additional expansion funds should be earmarked for districts with especially high concentrations of poor children. And because Chapter I's scarce resources now are focused on elementary schools by the school districts, a portion of the increase should be earmarked for middle schools. Federal support for compensatory education for ten- to fourteen-year-olds would prevent grade repetition and help these youngsters keep up with their peers as they enter adolescence.
- **Bilingual education:** To provide an additional 159,000 students with bilingual education services, Congress should appropriate \$250 million for the Bilingual Education Act. Currently only 215,000 students are served in 679 projects although there are an estimated 2.4 million to 3.6 million children age five to thirteen with limited English proficiency.
- **Desegregation assistance:** To improve and expand the Magnet Schools Assistance Act (giving assistance to schools to provide enriched programs to attract a diverse student body), the appropriation should be increased by \$75 million to a total of \$150 million.
- **Handicapped education:** Congress should provide \$2.109 billion for state and local programs, an increase of \$771 million, to provide states 15 percent of the average per-pupil expenditure for handicapped children. An additional \$36 million for preschool grants (increasing the appropriation to \$216 million) would serve an additional 23,000 handicapped three- to five-year-olds, and the full \$75 million authorization for the early intervention program for handicapped children from birth through two years old should be appropriated.
- **Higher education:** Pell grants provide assistance to low-income students for college and university expenses. They should be funded at the maximum level of \$2,500 per student by the end of three years. (The FY 1987 grant was a maximum of \$2,100 per student.) As a first step, the FY 1988 appropriation should be increased by \$500 million to \$4.3 billion.

New Initiatives

The following proposals represent new efforts to meet the educational needs of disadvantaged students:

- **Dropout Prevention and Recovery Act:** This would help address the problem of school dropouts by providing \$50 million for a new effort to gather uniform, nationwide information and to develop and fund demonstration projects aimed at keeping potential dropouts in school and returning dropouts back to school.

- **Chapter II revisions:** Many federal programs designed to guarantee children their civil rights and provide them equal access to education were weakened by the 1981 switch from categorical programs to the Chapter II block grant. Certain changes would make more efficient and effective use of Chapter II funds. These changes have been made part of the proposed Effective Schools Act.
 - *The Effective Schools program* would allot \$100 million of Chapter II funds to increase school effectiveness through effective schools programs that improve student achievement, student behavior, teaching, learning, and school management.
- **Community Learning Centers:** Remedial education programs in out-of-school settings can provide important "second chance" learning opportunities for youths and adults who have very weak basic reading and math skills. Effective programs of individualized instruction currently can seek operating funds through a number of federal programs—including the Adult Basic Education program and the Job Training Partnership Act—but many local service providers are unable to afford the up-front investments in the latest educational materials and technologies on which successful approaches are based. A revolving loan fund established by the federal government to help local agencies purchase basic skills curricula, cost-effective microcomputers, and other teaching aids would overcome this barrier by allowing local programs to pay back these initial costs from their operating budgets over several years. The federal cost would be limited primarily to the initial capitalization of the loan fund, subject to further estimates.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Education: Funding and Budget Requests, FY1981-FY1988
(in millions of dollars)

	Chapter I Compensatory Education	Chapter II	Bilingual Education	Education of the Handicapped	Vocational Education	Student Financial Assistance	Guaranteed Student Loans	TRIO
FY1981 actual	\$3,514.8	\$536.8 ¹	\$175.0	\$1,103.0	\$779.2	\$3,356.5	\$2,523.3	\$159.5
FY1982 proposed	— ²	4,361.7 ²	140.0	— ²	623.4	3,793.7	1,773.8	159.5
FY1982 actual	3,034.0	470.4	138.0	1,068.6	655.8	3,569.5	3,073.8	155.0
FY1983 proposed	1,942.0	432.0	94.5	845.7	500.0 ³	1,800.0	2,484.6	82.2
FY1983 actual	3,200.4	479.4	137.8	1,199.3	728.7	3,617.8	3,090.0	154.7
FY1984 proposed	3,014.0	478.9	95.0	1,110.2	500.0 ³	3,567.8	2,047.1	35.0
FY1984 actual	3,480.0	479.4	169.2	1,240.6	739.0	3,986.9	2,253.7	164.7
FY1985 proposed	3,480.0	728.9 ⁴	139.2	1,214.4	738.5	3,654.0	2,840.7	82.4
FY1985 actual	3,688.2	531.9	172.9	1,321.3	738.5 ⁵	4,871.0	3,078.0	174.9
FY1986 proposed	3,646.6	531.9	142.9	1,306.1	738.5	3,569.0	2,714.5	82.4
FY1986 actual	3,688.2	528.9	172.9 ⁶	1,411.0	838.8	4,887.0	3,300.0	176.4
After Gramm-Rudman	3,529.6	506.2	168.9 ⁶	1,349.7 ⁷	813.4 ⁵	4,675.4 ⁸	3,260.0 ⁸	168.8
FY1987 proposed	3,688.2	528.9	143.0 ⁹	1,303.1	408.1	3,812.6	2,329.6	82.4
FY1987 actual	3,944.2	529.3	180.6 ⁹	1,741.9	882.3 ⁵	5,196.0	3,004.0	176.4
FY1988 proposed	4,144.2	529.3	143.1	1,488.2	0.0	3,336.0	1,176.6	82.4

¹Total FY1981 funding level of Chapter II Block Grant antecedent programs.

²Proposed Elementary and Secondary Education Block Grant to consolidate 50 individual programs.

³Proposed Vocational and Adult Education Block Grant.

⁴Proposed increase to fund state education reform initiative recommended by National Commission on Excellence in Education.

⁵Includes bilingual vocational training.

⁶Includes migrant education.

⁷Excludes funds transferred to salaries and expenses.

⁸Bilingual vocational training transferred to Office of Vocational and Adult Education; includes funds authorized under Bilingual Education Act and since FY1984 Emergency Immigrant Education Act.

10. YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

Work is the bedrock of America's society and economy. For a young person, entry into the world of work is a key milestone in the transition to adulthood and sets the stage for future roles as parent, provider, and contributor to the nation's prosperity.

Youths, in turn, need help from society to prepare for and make this transition. Each teenager needs a firm foundation of basic academic skills on which to build his or her career. In addition to a sound education, all teens need the chance to explore vocational interests, develop good work habits, learn about employer expectations, and receive advice on finding suitable employment. Finally, young people leaving high school or college need an opportunity to work and earn a wage that will support them and their families.

Our society ignores these needs at its own risk. Today's children, students, and young workers are tomorrow's skilled workers, managers, and business and political leaders, the keys to America's competitiveness and standard of living in the twenty-first century. The ongoing decline in the size of the teenage population means that business and industry increasingly will be forced to depend on all available labor resources, including poor and minority youths who now too often have neither the preparation nor the opportunity to participate fully in the labor market. Without increased and sustained investments in these at-risk youths, society will forfeit their help and perpetuate the debilitating cycle of joblessness and long-term poverty that traps millions of parents and children. And without hope and expectations of success, many teenagers will find no compelling reason to delay too-early parenthood, which in turn will foreclose their future options further.

In Preparing for the World of Work, Many Poor and Minority Youths Are Left Out or Left Behind

For far too many poor and minority youths, the transition to adulthood brings neither the chance to acquire job skills nor the opportunities to work and support families.

Growing up in a poor family by itself stacks the odds against many young people. If they live in a low-income neighborhood, poor teenagers are less likely to receive the sound education they need as a foundation for entry

into the world of work. Their parents also have fewer resources and opportunities to open the doors to higher education, skills training in a promising career, or an entry-level job.

The quality of academic preparation young people receive in public schools varies widely, depending in part on the level of state and local resources supporting the public elementary and secondary schools in their communities. As a result, youths growing up in more affluent communities are far more likely than their less-advantaged peers to obtain the requisite academic skills for higher education or entry-level jobs. (See Education chapter.)

These disparities widen even further after high school. Young people who go on to college (of whom a disproportionate number come from middle- and upper-income families) receive nearly \$9 billion annually in direct or indirect federal help, such as student aid and grants to colleges, as well as substantial state support for higher education. This is a valuable national commitment to training one segment of the nation's youths and building our national future.

In contrast, our nation makes no comparable commitment to ensure help for needy youths who attempt to make the transition directly from high school to work, even though these teens generally face the most difficult struggle in achieving employment and economic self-sufficiency.

Poor Basic Academic Skills Contribute Heavily to the Employment Problems of Youths

If they are to succeed, these youths need help first to overcome the most formidable barrier they face in their search for employment: poor basic academic skills. The level of a young person's reading and math skills has a powerful effect on his or her future employment prospects, according to data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Young Americans analyzed by Dr. Andrew Sum of Northeastern University. Youths who by age eighteen have the weakest basic skills (in the lowest fifth) are between four and seven times more likely to be jobless and out of school in subsequent years than those with above-average basic skills. The average poor teenager who is unemployed has basic skills in the bottom fifth relative to his or her age group, and poor jobless minority teens on the average fall in the lowest tenth of the basic skills distribution for their peers.

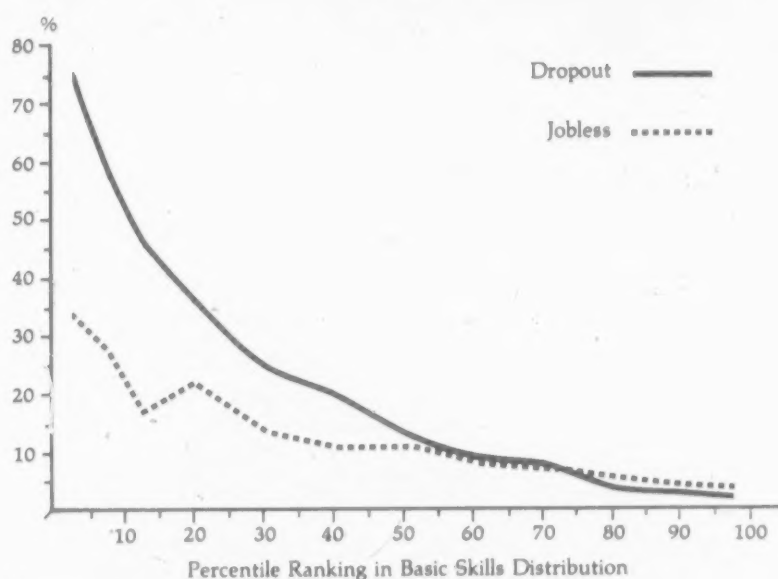
Basic skills deficiencies are linked closely to the problems of poverty among children and youths. In large part as a result of the deprivations they experience while growing up, nearly half of all poor youths are concentrated in the bottom fifth of the basic skills rankings of all young Americans. More than three-fourths have below-average skills. In their hiring decisions, employers often use a high school diploma as a screening mechanism or proxy for attainment of adequate basic skills. It is not surprising, given the fact that 85 percent of all high school dropouts have below-average basic skills, that dropouts are two and a half times more likely to be unemployed than high school graduates. The greater likelihood that young people with diplomas will find work—and work that pays more—means that they have substantially higher average earnings: male graduates between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four with no further education earn three-fifths more than dropouts, while their female peers with diplomas have incomes nearly twice as high as female dropouts in the same age group.

Even for youths without diplomas, however, strong basic skills make a difference. Male dropouts with very good basic skills earn nearly twice as much on average as those with very poor skills. They also out-earn male high school graduates with the lowest skills levels by roughly 50 percent.

Job Prospects for Poor and Minority Youths Are Particularly Bleak

Lack of basic skills, along with persistent discrimination based on race or sex, below-par schools, and limited opportunities, add up to dim employment prospects for many youths from poor and minority families. One in three poor teenagers is officially counted as unemployed, far higher than the one in seven youths who is unemployed among households with incomes greater than three times the poverty level (or more than about \$33,000 annually for a family of four in 1986). The unemployment rate suffered by black sixteen- to nineteen-year-olds was 38.3 percent in late 1986—more than twice the overall rate for teens.

Percentages of Persons Ages 19-23 Who Are Out of School Without a High School Diploma and Are Jobless, by Basic Skills Ranking, 1981



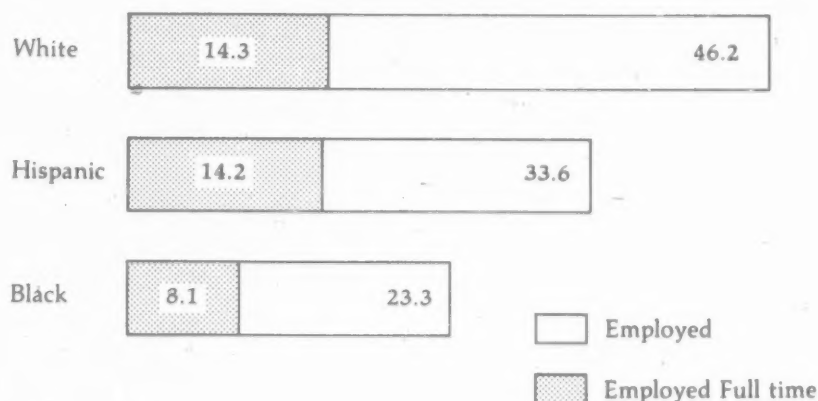
Source: Data from National Longitudinal Survey of Young Americans, analyses by Dr. Andrew Sum, Center for Labor Market Studies, Northeastern University.

Even these distressing numbers do not tell the whole story. Because the official unemployment rate does not include youths who are not actively searching for work, it underestimates true joblessness. In addition to the 1.4 million teens officially counted as unemployed, an equal number want or need to find work but have given up looking for a job. About one in three Hispanic youths and fewer than one in four black youths were employed in late 1986—roughly half the employment rate of white teenagers.

Job prospects for poor and minority teens are particularly bleak in our inner cities. Among youths of all races between the ages of sixteen and nineteen who live in low-income urban neighborhoods, the official

unemployment rate stood at 35 percent in 1984 (the last year for which these data are available). The black youths in this group were hit harder: 46 percent were officially counted as unemployed, a jobless rate three times that of white teenagers living in more affluent areas. Lack of jobs in some areas, as well as continuing patterns of employment discrimination, stymie the work efforts of even the most competent young people in those communities. Youths who are poor and lack diplomas virtually are shut out of the labor market. Fewer than 40 percent of all poor high school dropouts (ages fifteen to twenty-one) were employed in 1985, and only 20 percent managed to find full-time work. In contrast, 60 percent of all poor high school graduates not enrolled in college, and 81 percent of such graduates who weren't poor, had jobs during 1985.

Percentages of Youths Ages 16-19 Who Are Employed and Are Employed Full Time, by Race, November 1986



Poor and Minority Youths Are Increasingly Unable To Earn Enough To Support a Family

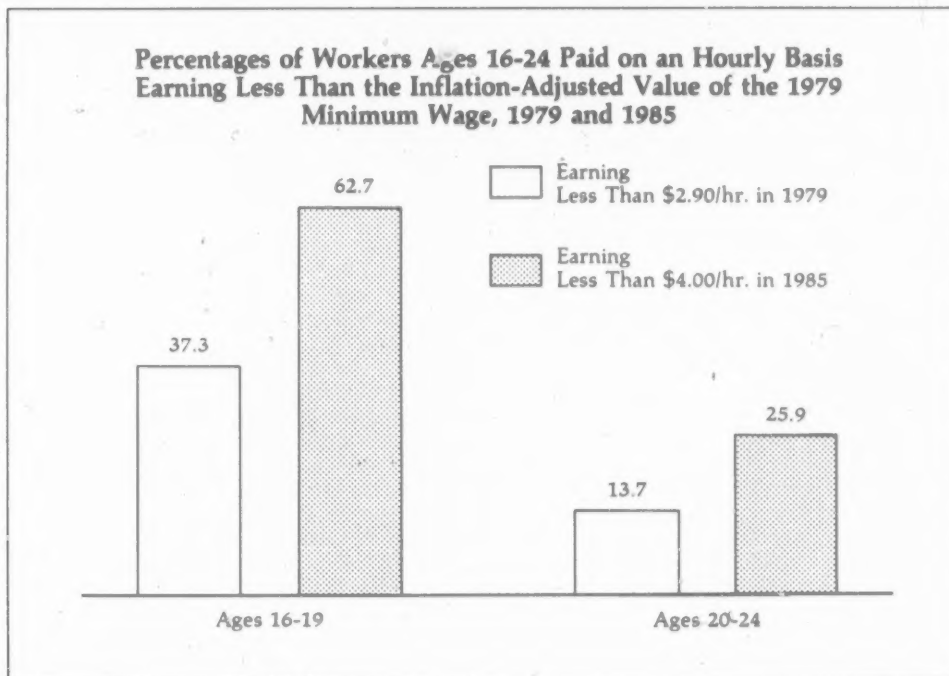
The problems poor and minority youths face in finding work and earning a living do not end after their teenage years. High rates of unemployment and low earnings even for those who are fully employed persist into adulthood, leaving increasing numbers of young adults unable to earn income adequate to support their families.

These youths' prospects for steady work at wages sufficient to support a family have deteriorated over the past decade for several reasons. One key factor has been structural shifts in the American economy. While the basic academic skills of poor and minority youths have improved significantly in recent years, this improvement has not been fast enough to keep pace with dramatic changes in the U.S. job market. Jobs less likely to require strong basic skills, such as those in the manufacturing industries, have dwindled, reducing the number of well-paying jobs available to young people who have not graduated from high school.

Because of the relatively weak performance of the economy since the 1981-1982 recession, job opportunities for all youths have become more scarce. The total number of teenagers fell by more than 2 million between 1979 and 1986, but the percentage of teens who could find work still fell during this period. This deterioration of employment prospects has affected high school graduates and dropouts. Employment rates for recent high school graduates not going on to college dropped from 72 percent in October 1979 to 62 percent in October 1985. Similarly, the percentage of all dropouts between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four who held jobs slipped from 54 percent to 51 percent during this period, with sharper declines among males and minority dropouts.

The worsening of employment opportunities for young people also is reflected in the shrinking number of hours of work available to those who can find work. The portion of all employed sixteen- to nineteen-year-olds with full-time jobs declined from 46 percent to 37 percent between 1979 and 1985, due to increasing part-time work in occupations dominated by young workers. Among a slightly older group, twenty- to twenty-four-year-olds, full-time employment also dropped, from 82 percent to 76 percent during this period. The chances of finding a full-time job have grown particularly bleak for out-of-school youths from poor households: only one in three poor high school graduates and one in five poor dropouts worked full-time in 1985.

The final trend eroding the earnings capacity of young workers is the continuing decline of their average wage levels. Part of this is due to the failure of the federal government to raise the minimum wage since 1981, despite 22 percent inflation. Even working forty hours per week year-round, a worker in 1985 had to earn at least \$4.30 per hour to lift a family of three out of poverty. Yet the hourly pay rates of nearly two-thirds of all sixteen- to nineteen-year-olds employed at hourly wages fell below \$4 an hour in 1985, a much higher proportion than the slightly more than one-third who earned such inadequate



wages (adjusted for inflation) in 1979. The pattern is similar among men and women age twenty to twenty-four, who are even more likely to be trying to support families: 26 percent of all hourly workers were employed in jobs paying less than \$4 per hour in 1985, while only 14 percent worked at comparable wage levels in 1979.

These three factors—declines in employment rates, hours of work, and wage levels—all have contributed to large reductions in the average earnings of young workers, particularly young men. Between 1973 and 1984, the real incomes of all males age twenty to twenty-four dropped by 33 percent. Among black males in this age group, average annual incomes fell by 44 percent in real terms. Earnings losses have been greatest among employed twenty- to twenty-four-year-old males without high school diplomas: white and Hispanic dropouts experienced a 39 percent drop in real annual earnings during the 1973-1984 period, while black dropouts suffered a 61 percent loss in real earnings.

These sharp declines in earnings mean far fewer young men bring home incomes sufficient to support above the poverty level even a family of three, the traditional size of a young family starting out in life. In 1984, only 48 percent of white men and 27 percent of black men between ages twenty and twenty-four earned enough to support a wife and one child. In contrast, 64 percent of white males and 57 percent of black males earned enough to do so in 1973.

The implications of these earnings losses are profound and far-reaching. If a young man is unable to earn enough to support a child, the financial incentives to marry and form a family are diminished sharply. Not surprisingly, therefore, marriage rates among young people have fallen along with average earnings for young male workers. Between 1974 and 1985, marriage rates for all twenty- to twenty-four-year-olds declined by 46 percent. Among blacks in this age group, marriage rates fell by a staggering 62 percent. As a result, out-of-wedlock birth rates have risen substantially.

Finally, the related problems of reduced employment opportunities, lower earnings, and less frequent marriages serve to perpetuate the cycle of poverty for young families and children. Poor teens who perceive little chance of getting good jobs are more likely to believe that they have nothing to lose by becoming parents before they are ready. Bearing children outside of marriage at an early age, in turn, sharply increases the odds that these teens will head the next generation of poor households. Due to their low earnings potential, even young couples who do marry will have more difficulty lifting themselves and their children out of poverty. The results of this cycle are already apparent: the poverty rates among all households headed by persons younger than twenty-five have jumped from 15.9 percent in 1973 to 30.2 percent in 1985. Half of all children, and three-fourths of all black children, in such households now live in poverty.

Federal Programs Help Disadvantaged Youths Improve Their Chances of Obtaining Employment and Better Wages

Federal efforts to provide education, vocational training, and work experience for poor and minority youths by themselves will not be sufficient to ensure that young families can obtain adequate incomes. A broader range of federal actions—including an increase in the minimum wage, economic policies and job creation activities leading toward full employment, and improved income supports for low-income workers—are needed to reverse the sharp declines in earnings among young workers. (See Family Income chapter.) But federal youth employment initiatives still play an important role in getting poor

and minority teens off to a good start in a difficult labor market, yielding lasting gains in employment and future earnings for those most in need of help.

The federal government has made some modest attempts to help low-income youths prepare for the world of work by arming them with job skills and work experience. Research repeatedly has shown that federal employment and training initiatives can play an effective role in moving young people toward work and eventual self-sufficiency. But federal funds for these efforts never have been adequate to meet the needs of disadvantaged young people, and the federal commitment has slackened at the same time the job picture for youths has become especially bleak.

The two longest-established federal job training programs for poor and minority teenagers are the Job Corps and the Summer Youth Employment Program. Since 1965, Job Corps has provided disadvantaged youths with basic education, vocational training, and (because it is a residential training program) food, housing, medical care, and supportive services such as counseling. The Summer Youth Employment Program, also launched in the 1960s, serves a much larger number of disadvantaged young people in more limited ways, generally offering just work experience for up to ten weeks during the summer months.

The federal government mounted a more ambitious set of employment and training programs for youths during the late 1970s. Unfortunately, these promising experiments were a small part of the employment and training efforts funded under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), and the increasingly negative public image of a number of the other parts of the CETA program, plus budget cutbacks, led to the elimination of these youth initiatives in 1981.

Current and past federal initiatives have shown that different approaches can enhance employment and training opportunities for poor and minority young people:

- **Job Corps:** The vast majority of Job Corps participants are economically disadvantaged high school dropouts, with an average sixth grade reading level. Many have prior arrest records. But even among these youths with multiple problems, Job Corps increases employment, earnings, and school completion rates while reducing crime and welfare costs. Research has shown that every dollar invested in Job Corps yields \$1.45 in benefits to American society.
- **Youth incentive entitlement pilot projects:** During this 1970s experiment, disadvantaged youths in seventeen sites were guaranteed minimum wage jobs, part-time during the school year and full-time during the summer months, on the condition that they remain in or return to school. The projects demonstrated that large numbers of work experience opportunities could be created for poor and minority youths, and that such an earned job guarantee could increase substantially the employment rates for sixteen- to nineteen-year-olds. Evaluations suggest that participants continued to earn more than nonparticipants even after the guaranteed job programs ended.
- **Remediation linked to work experience:** Federally sponsored remedial programs that rely upon individualized instruction at the teenager's own pace, when combined with work experience, have proven extremely effective in strengthening basic academic skills. Job Corps remediation efforts have helped participants improve their reading skills by an average of one and a half grade levels and their math skills by one grade

level after only ninety hours of instruction. Similar or greater gains have been achieved in military and nonresidential remedial education programs.

- **Vocational skills training:** Young participants in on-the-job or classroom training programs under CETA fared substantially better as a group, earning more during the two years following training than did comparable youths who did not participate. These results varied considerably for subgroups of the youth population, however, and the inconsistent quality of training programs diluted their potential impact. Nonetheless, intensive vocational skills training appears to yield clear and lasting benefits for disadvantaged youths.

The lesson of these successes is that there is no substitute for a strong federal role in youth employment and training. Without government leadership and incentives, private employers generally are unable or unwilling to address the multiple barriers to employment that confront many poor and minority teenagers. While some states have made piecemeal efforts, few have put sizable programs in place, even in the face of the federal cutbacks of the 1980s. States with the highest levels of joblessness typically have the fewest resources to tackle the problem. The federal government, through well-designed employment programs as well as through its handling of the economy, is in the best position to reduce unemployment among our youths and expand their opportunities for training and work. It also has the ability to experiment with varying approaches and publicize effective strategies for increasing youth employment.

But our federal commitment to youth employment and training programs has fallen far short of meeting the needs of most poor and minority teenagers. Budget cuts, erosion by inflation, and lack of leadership by Congress and the Reagan Administration have exacerbated the employment and earnings crisis our youths are facing. Overall, federal support for training and subsidized employment for adults and youths has been slashed dramatically during the Reagan years, from more than \$9 billion in 1981 to less than \$4 billion today.

The Summer Youth Employment Program, which offered summer job opportunities to nearly 1 million young people when President Reagan took office, served just more than 750,000 last year and would have served hundreds of thousands fewer if even deeper budget cuts proposed by the Administration had been accepted by Congress. The Job Corps has weathered Administration attacks, including an FY 1987 proposed funding cut of nearly 50 percent. But despite its strong track record, this program only has the capacity to serve roughly the same number of youths (40,000) in 1987 as it did in 1981. Job Corps was able to reach 3 percent of the 1.4 million teenagers officially counted as unemployed at the end of 1986. Few federal programs of proven success have been limited to serving so few of the people who need their help.

Youths also are losing ground as a result of the structure of the new federal omnibus job program—the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). Congress and the President enacted this training program for economically disadvantaged Americans, including teens, in 1982. JTPA does little to create real work opportunities for young people, since its training funds cannot be used to pay wages except in very short-term work experience programs. The law does require that 40 percent of all JTPA funds be spent on programs for youths, including high school dropouts. But the federal government is not monitoring the states' often lackadaisical efforts to carry out this mandate, and there is growing evidence that expenditures for youths fall well below this benchmark.

One reason JTPA often offers the least help to youths who need it most is its built-in pressure for immediate results, including job placements. In striving to satisfy short-term, often superficial, performance standards, few local JTPA officials are willing to recruit hard-to-serve youths or to develop more comprehensive strategies designed to improve their long-term employability. Most local programs set up specifically to serve youths provide only the most basic guidance on how to find a job, without offering any training in vocational skills. Many JTPA-funded projects also refuse to accept individuals into training unless they are able to read at an eighth or ninth grade level, an entry requirement that effectively precludes participation by most high school dropouts.

In contrast to the general JTPA program, the Summer Youth Employment Program (now Title II-B of JTPA) is well-structured to help poor teenagers acquire some work experience and desperately needed income. But even this valuable program could be enhanced through strong federal leadership and legislative revisions that acknowledge the importance of combining job opportunities with education. New research suggests strongly that the summer months are a crucial period for poor and minority youths, and that academic gains achieved during the school year can erode quickly when teens are not engaged in constructive summer activities. The Summer Youth Employment Program currently is not structured to stem these summer learning losses. While Congress took a helpful first step in this direction in 1986 by passing amendments requiring all summer programs to develop a remedial education component, it failed to appropriate additional federal funds for this purpose.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1988

The Reagan Administration's budget proposals for FY 1988 can only further harm the deteriorating job prospects of poor and minority youths. Rather than providing additional federal resources to expand opportunities for work and training among disadvantaged teenagers, the President first seeks to refight a battle he already has lost, asking for rescissions of FY 1987 support for youth employment initiatives. Then, in FY 1988, the Reagan Administration merely would maintain those inadequate investments in existing federal programs, locking in the post-rescission funding levels.

The Summer Youth Employment Program is targeted for the largest immediate spending reduction, a \$100 million rescission in FY 1987. This budget cut would reduce the number of summer jobs for disadvantaged teenagers by roughly 100,000. This proposal also undercuts legislation approved last year requiring summer youth programs to provide remedial education in addition to summer employment opportunities. Funding for the Summer Youth Employment Program in FY 1988 would remain at this reduced level of \$650 million, half of FY 1981 levels after adjusting for inflation.

The Administration has sought to divert attention from this immediate cut in summer youth employment funds by proposing increased federal spending in FY 1988, but only if Congress agrees to replace the existing Summer Youth Employment Program with an employment and training program focused on teenagers in AFDC families. Although the details of this proposal have not yet been submitted to the Congress, the Reagan Administration's expressed intent is to give local officials the option of using federal funds to operate a year-round program for AFDC youths, a subsidized summer jobs program for economically disadvantaged teenagers, or a combination of the two.

The Administration's proposal to shift the focus of the Summer Youth Employment Program away from the summer months raises numerous questions. Many local officials already are failing to meet federal requirements that they spend at least 40 percent of JTPA training funds on year-round services for economically disadvantaged youths, including youths in AFDC families. In contrast, inadequate funding is hampering local efforts to strengthen summer programming by combining jobs with remedial education in the current Summer Youth Employment Program.

The Administration offers no rationale for singling out AFDC youths for these year-round activities. Eligibility for participation in the Summer Youth Employment Program already is targeted on the most economically disadvantaged youths, including but not limited to those residing in AFDC households. The exclusion of needy young people living in non-AFDC families from assistance under a revised youth program would unfairly penalize teens in households that have managed to avoid reliance on AFDC.

Further, the Administration's track record in making proposals to limit eligibility suggests that this may presage a call for reduced funding levels for the program as a whole.

Other funding proposals for youth employment initiatives in President Reagan's FY 1988 budget include:

- A \$57 million rescission in FY 1987 training funds for youths and adults under Title II-A of JTPA. In defending this reduction, the Administration cites unexpended balances from prior appropriations. But it fails to propose the necessary strengthening of monitoring and enforcement efforts that would ensure that local programs spend the money effectively. In addition, JTPA training funds for FY 1988 would be frozen at the FY 1986 level of \$1.78 billion.
- A \$4.7 million reduction in Job Corps funding in FY 1988. President Reagan has abandoned his previous efforts to make deep cuts in Job Corps after they were met by bipartisan opposition in Congress. However, even this year's small reduction is counterproductive and symbolic of the Administration's lack of interest in cost-effective ways of serving youths, given research findings that Job Corps yields \$1.45 in benefits for every \$1 in federal funds invested.

CDF Recommendations

An educational foundation strong in basic academic skills is increasingly important to the job prospects of all youths, including poor and minority teenagers. Efforts to improve the quality of public schools, therefore, are an essential first step in expanding opportunities for young people to work and support families.

Yet a sound system of public education alone cannot ensure that all youths make the transition to work and eventual self-sufficiency. A significant number of teens, particularly disadvantaged teens, will need more individualized instruction and a second chance outside the classroom to bolster their basic skills. In addition, every young person, regardless of income or race, needs a sense of hope and a concrete reason to strive and achieve, including the opportunity for a decent job and the skills to perform it.

The federal government can take some immediate steps to foster and encourage work and learning among poor and minority youths. CDF's Legislative Agenda includes the following proposals to improve the employment prospects of the nation's youths:

- **Summer Youth Employment Program:** This program currently offers disadvantaged youths important work experience during the summer months. Improved assistance for these at-risk teens can be provided effectively by targeting additional funds to communities that offer participating youths individualized remedial services and summer job guarantees as incentives to raise educational achievement. An FY 1988 appropriation of \$950 million would support these needed improvements.
- **Job Corps:** Research has shown that the basic education, vocational training, and support services provided by Job Corps increase school completion, employment, and earnings among particularly disadvantaged youths. More than 20,000 additional young people would receive this cost-effective training if Congress appropriates \$800 million for the Job Corps in FY 1988.
- **JTPA monitoring and enforcement:** Existing employment and training programs under the Job Training Partnership Act would be strengthened by mandating more vigorous enforcement of current requirements to serve youths, including school dropouts. Data collection at the state and national levels needs to be enhanced to support more adequate enforcement and evaluation efforts.
- **Youth Opportunity Accounts:** To provide a greater sense of hope among disadvantaged youths and to reward their achievements, a new demonstration program would allow at-risk teens in selected communities to earn credits toward future education, training, or subsidized work experience by reaching educational goals or performing community service. Authorization for the development of Youth Opportunity Accounts in a limited number of sites, together with an FY 1988 appropriation of \$20 million, would permit testing of this promising design for educational incentives that promote youth self-sufficiency.
- **School-to-work transition:** Many students leaving high school now do not receive even the most minimal assistance in making the transition to work. A federal authorization to establish effective, low-cost school-to-work programs would replicate in secondary schools throughout the country successful models such as the Jobs for America's Graduates program.
- **Minimum wage:** An immediate increase in the federal minimum wage is necessary to reverse the dramatic decline of earnings among young workers. The current minimum wage of \$3.35 an hour should be raised to \$3.95 in 1988, with stepped increases in subsequent years to restore the minimum wage to its real 1979 value (adjusted for inflation).

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Employment: Funding and Budget Requests, FY1981-FY1988
(in millions of dollars)

	CETA	CETA Summer Youth ¹	CETA Public Service Employment ¹	JTPA	JTPA Basic Block Grant to States ²	JTPA Summer Youth ²	Job Corps	WIN
FY1981 actual	\$7,143.0	\$900.0	\$2,195.0	—	—	—	—	\$365.0
FY1982 proposed	3,567.0	—	0.0	—	—	—	—	—
FY1982 actual	3,023.2	720.6	100.0	—	—	—	—	268.6
FY1983 proposed	0.0	—	—	\$2,387.0	—	\$724.5	—	11.4
FY1983 actual	3,789.3	—	—	3,990.4 ³	—	824.5 ³	\$621.7	270.8
FY1984 proposed	—	—	—	3,643.3	—	724.5	585.6	0.0
FY1984 actual	—	—	—	3,605.2	\$1,886.2	724.5	599.2	270.8
FY1985 proposed	—	—	—	3,610.6	1,886.2	637.5	600.0	0.0
FY1985 actual	—	—	—	3,748.7	1,886.2	824.5 ³	617.0	266.8
FY1986 proposed	—	—	—	2,805.5	1,886.2	664.5	0.0	0.0
FY1986 actual	—	—	—	3,461.0	1,863.2	664.5	640.0	220.0
After Gramm-Rudma	—	—	—	3,312.3	1,783.1	636.0	612.5	210.5
FY1987 proposed	—	—	—	2,909.6	1,820.0	428.0	351.7	0.0
FY1987 actual	—	—	—	3,656.0	1,840.0	750.0	656.4	110.0 ⁴
FY1988 proposed	—	—	—	3,285.5	1,783.0 ⁵	650.0 ⁶	651.7	0.0

¹Included in CETA totals.

²Included in JTPA totals.

³Includes supplemental appropriation.

⁴Appropriation for nine months ending June 30, 1987.

⁵Also proposes a \$57 million rescission of FY1987 funds.

⁶Also proposes a \$100 million rescission of FY1987 funds.

11. PREVENTING ADOLESCENT PREGNANCY AND BUILDING YOUTH SELF- SUFFICIENCY

Adolescence, the transition from childhood to adulthood, often is accompanied by risk-taking, limit-testing, and challenges to adult conventions. Within limits, adults expect and even encourage teenagers to "sow their wild oats" because we assume that most of the teen behaviors that emerge during these years are both short-term and fundamentally harmless—a transitional phase ending when youths step across the threshold into adulthood.

Adolescents always have passed through a period of difficult, often troubled adjustment to adult life. This transition has become more complicated in recent decades, however, because our society is making greater demands on teens and because the adverse consequences of certain teen behaviors are more severe than they used to be.

In recent years our country's concerns about adolescent problems have been deepening, and with good reason. The number and the severity of social problems faced by teens has increased dramatically. *All* adolescents today must be considered at risk of engaging in self-limiting behavior that threatens their health (if not their lives) or that seriously curtails their chances of becoming self-sufficient adults.

Substance abuse, sexually transmitted diseases, suicide, depression, and stress have become increasingly common among adolescents, including a growing proportion of younger teens and even some preteens. The rapid growth in these problems, collectively termed "the new morbidity," is cause for serious concern because the severity of related risks—both short-term and long-term—dictates that they cannot be considered a natural part of growing up. Indeed, for an alarming number of teens these behaviors actually impede the process of becoming a functional adult member of society.

Two other problems now afflicting many teens—too-early parenthood and leaving high school before graduation—are often interrelated with the "new morbidity" health problems. But sexual activity, pregnancy, and school-leaving differ from the health-linked problems in an important way. Unlike substance abuse or suicide, these are not behaviors that are self-destructive or unacceptable at every age; they are behaviors we view as positive—later.

Both becoming a parent and leaving school are important and expected markers of adulthood. The *timing* of their occurrence is crucial to the effect they have on a youth's life. When teens become parents or leave school before they have gained the skills, credentials, and maturity needed to secure employment,

raise a child, and balance the demands of adult life, they risk foreclosing many options for their own future and the future of their children.

Thirty or forty years ago, many youths already had completed the key steps toward adulthood—finishing adequate schooling, finding employment, and settling in a stable relationship—by their late teens. Teens who became parents then, even unexpectedly, were far enough along in their transition to adulthood that their early parenthood did not place them at a serious disadvantage in relation to their peers.

But today, adolescent parenthood is a major barrier to adult self-sufficiency. Many married teens and teen parents leave school.

Percent of Students Dropping Out of Public High School Between Their Sophomore and Senior Years, By Sex and Marital and Parenthood Status, 1982

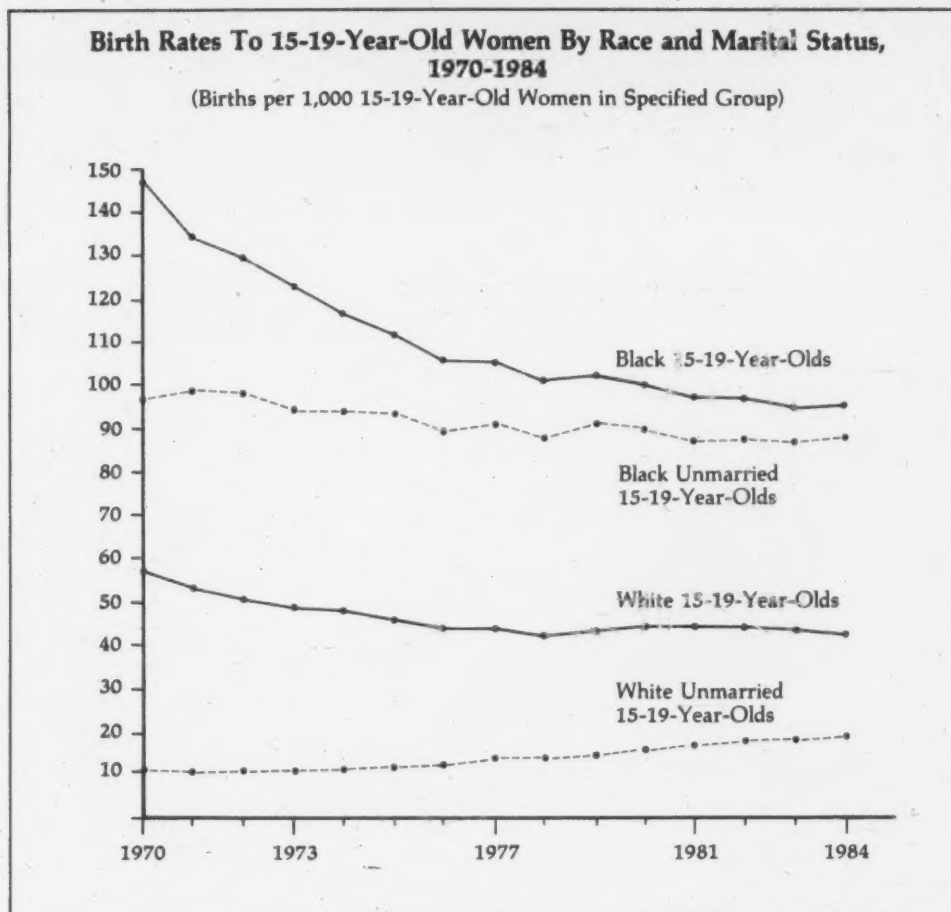
	Males	Females	Total
Unmarried, no children	14.4%	7.9%	11.2%
Married, no children	57.6	59.6	59.3
Unmarried, children	31.9	51.4	45.3
Married, children	72.1	75.4	74.8
Total	14.6	12.6	13.6

Source: Stephen Barro. "The Incidence of Dropping Out: A Descriptive Analysis." Unpublished analyses of the High School and Beyond Survey, 1984.

When they leave school, teens are left behind by peers who not only go on to complete high school but to enter college as well. Half of all young adults are still in school at age nineteen. Only half have finished their schooling and entered the labor force at age twenty. Half are still unmarried at age twenty-four, and half of the women at that age have yet to bear their first child. Our culture has delayed the time at which the indicators of full adult status are achieved.

For millions of teens, however, this delay is not occurring. Each year more than 1 million American teens become pregnant—four out of five unintentionally. Slightly less than half (44 percent) of these pregnancies result in births. Half of these births are to young women who have dropped out of school; more than half (56 percent) are to young women who are not married. Adolescent parenthood, instead of being a sign of a youth's completion of one of the remaining steps toward adulthood as it often was in the past, now makes the completion of other transitional steps very difficult. This is why, although the teen birth rate actually has dropped in recent years, teen births are now a greater social problem than they used to be.

Birth rates for all but the very youngest teens, those younger than fifteen, have dropped significantly since 1970. In 1983 the number of babies born to teens dropped below 500,000 for the first time since before 1960. But those births now are more likely to interrupt the complex process of becoming an adult.



It is not just teens who are bearing children who are in trouble. Data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Young Adults, a large annual survey of a nationally representative sample of youths ages fourteen to twenty-one, suggest that as many as one young person in three is stalled seriously in the process of making a successful transition to adulthood. Thirty-one percent of the nineteen- to twenty-three-year-olds surveyed in 1981 either had failed to complete high school, failed to find employment although they were not in school, committed a crime during the past year, borne a child out-of-wedlock, or received welfare payments.

Millions of the young men and women who truncate their educations by leaving high school or truncate their adolescence by bearing children do not carefully weigh these decisions because they generally do not see any better alternatives. By the time they reach adolescence, their motivating force to improve their lives—their sense of themselves and their personal expectations—has been damaged seriously. It is often at this point—the point at which their problems become costly—that society steps in and attempts to undo this harm

and turn these troubled youths into self-sufficient adults. At this point societal intervention is more costly than if it had come earlier, and too often it comes too late.

The maturation of all of our young people into skilled, productive, and self-sufficient adults is more critical to this nation than ever before. As our population as a whole gets older, we will be relying on a smaller pool of young people to support our economy and government. Between 1980 and 2020 the ratio of workers supporting the Social Security system to recipients of Social Security will drop by nearly one-third. Our nation cannot afford to wait and do nothing while a significant portion of our youths remain stalled in their progress toward productive, self-sufficient adulthood.

What Youths Need To Become Self-Sufficient Adults

Our society must find ways of helping all of our youths become self-sufficient adults. We must identify clearly at the outset the wide range of help and support our youths need to achieve this goal.

First, all of our youths need a strong education. During the past thirty to forty years, the importance of secondary and higher education to a youth's ability to compete in the job market has increased vastly. In 1960, six out of ten of America's young workers had high school diplomas. In 1980, 85 percent did. It is far harder today to find a job that does not require a diploma, and those jobs that do not often pay wages that are so low that the workers cannot support families.

As a result, staying in school and delaying the responsibility of supporting a family are virtually essential to a young adult's eventual economic self-sufficiency. Teens who stray from this course will have a more difficult time establishing themselves than did teens as little as thirty or even twenty years ago. Too-early entry into the world of adults—the world of work and parenthood—now not only puts teens at a disadvantage relative to their peers, but often puts them in poverty.

- In 1960 a high school dropout earned almost 90 percent of the income of a high school graduate. By 1980 the proportion had dropped to 70 percent.
- In 1967 the median weekly earnings of young full-time workers sixteen to twenty-four years old were about 75 percent of those of older workers. By 1986 the earning power of such young workers had declined to only 57 percent of that of older workers.
- In 1985, 74 percent of the single-parent families with female heads younger than twenty-five lived in poverty. Even two-parent families face extraordinarily high poverty rates if the parents are young: the poverty rate among families with male heads younger than twenty-five was three times as high as that among families headed by older males.
- In 1986, 17 percent of sixteen- to nineteen-year-olds were officially unemployed (actively looking for work but unable to find it).

Thirty years ago, a seventeen-year-old mother with limited education and skills often could support a family. Today that same seventeen-year-old mother rarely can get by without help. In part, this is because today she is more likely to be raising her children alone. In 1950 only one out of seven births to adolescents was to a single mother; today more than half of all

adolescent births are out-of-wedlock. Fewer and fewer young women believe that their marriage would help their children to be better cared for—a skepticism that in part reflects the reality of high unemployment and falling earnings among young men. Indeed, the increase in recent years in the proportion of teen births that are out-of-wedlock is tied closely to the steep decline in the proportion of men age twenty to twenty-four who actually earn enough to support a family. Today, a high school diploma and delayed parenthood are essentially prerequisites of minimal economic survival. But often one diploma isn't enough. Frequently two parents, two diplomas, and two incomes are required for economic security.

Gradually, more of our youths are recognizing the pitfalls of too-early sexual activity, too-early parenthood, and failure to graduate from school. The

Preparing Youths For Adulthood

	EDUCATION	HEALTH	WORK	SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY/AWARENESS	PERSONAL GROWTH
Information/Decisionmaking Skills	-basic skills (verbal, writing...) -basic knowledge -problem-solving skills -learning skills	-education, understanding growth, development, and health risks -value of regular health care	-understanding function and value of work -developing healthy work attitudes -exposure to variety of work environments, jobs, and adult workers	-understanding of individual's role in society and societal change -cultural awareness -social awareness	-development of self-identity, self-discipline, interpersonal skills, and coping strategies
Assessment/Guidance/Referral	-monitoring progress -assessing special educational needs -helping with school choices -curriculum/class choices	-identification of problem/need -assessment/screening -counseling -locating affordable and appropriate health resources -understanding health systems	-defining criteria for choosing job/assessing interests, skills, and goals -making job preparation plans -job search assistance -college choice assistance	-identification of antisocial behavior -recognition of socially responsible behavior	-assessment of talent, interests, potential -mental health screening
Direct Supports/Opportunities	-formal instruction -informal instruction -homework assistance -tutoring -remedial instruction -special/alternative instruction	-preventive health care -general exams -mental health services -medical treatment for illness or injury -therapy	-post-secondary education -vocational training -on the job training/work experience -part-time work and summer employment -volunteer/paid jobs	-counseling/group homes -community group membership -community volunteer services -leadership opportunities	-counseling (individ., family, group) -developmental education (sexuality, family life, relationships) -non-academic opportunities for success
Outcomes	-high school diploma/basic competencies	-good health	-job	-community involvement, citizenship	-strong positive self-concept

Source: Children's Defense Fund

proportion of teens who are becoming parents is decreasing slowly. Still, too many teens, male and female, are taking steps that may limit their chances of adult self-sufficiency.

- Seventeen percent of youths ages eighteen to twenty-one have not completed high school.
- Twelve percent of teenage girls already have become mothers. Half are raising their children as single parents.
- Six out of ten students, male and female, who marry between their sophomore and senior years drop out of high school, as do three out of four of those who are both married and have children.

To change teens' behavior, we must give them a sense of hope and options for the future. A teen's ultimate chance of success as an adult is determined by two factors: awareness of opportunities for success in the adult world that are meaningful and likely to be available, and adequate preparation to meet the adult world's challenges.

In particular, teens need support from adult society in five key areas:

- Academic education—developing solid academic skills (the ability to read, write, and perform basic mathematical functions), sound decision-making and problem-solving skills, and a good base of knowledge;
- Health—getting healthy, staying healthy, and avoiding such prevalent health-related risks during adolescence as pregnancy, substance abuse, and depression;
- Work preparation—identifying and building work-related skills and gaining exposure to a wide range of work experiences, both on the job and through contacts with adults;
- Social responsibility and social awareness—developing a sense of connection with the community and understanding how it functions and how it can be changed;
- Personal growth—growing up, understanding oneself and others, assessing one's attitudes and values, and finding non-academic avenues for success and growth, including community service, recreation, and sports.

In each of these areas, children and youths need basic information and support to build their potential for making decisions. For example, children need to understand their bodies so that they can make informed decisions about nutrition, exercise, health risks, sexual activity, and when to see a doctor. They need to learn the unwritten rules of social interaction so they can judge and control their own behavior. They need to find out enough about the range of available jobs to begin defining their career interests.

In addition to information, children and youths need adult monitoring and guidance. In each area of their lives and development, they should receive appropriate help assessing their progress, making choices, and identifying and linking up with needed supports and opportunities. Their individual needs will range from music lessons to speech therapy, from summer jobs to after-school care, from tutoring to medical treatment.

Families have primary responsibility for assisting the growth and development of their children. But no family can meet these multiple responsibilities without relying on a range of informal and formal supports.

Alone, all families, two-parent or single-parent, middle class or poor, are finding it increasingly impossible to provide, arrange for, and supervise the provision of all the information, guidance, experiences, and supports their children need to grow and learn.

That is why children, youths, and their families need access to the range of other private and public organizations and services to meet their needs. Other key resources in every teen's life include schools, after-school programs, health insurance, health clinics, parks, youth recreation and development programs, job training, and employment opportunities.

Poor Children Are Far Less Likely To Get the Help Needed To Achieve Self-Sufficiency

Today poor children in America receive far less help than their more advantaged peers in making the transition to adulthood. First, their families and communities often cannot provide as much information, guidance, and, most important, actual access to needed services and opportunities. Second, the education they receive is generally inadequate, both in terms of quality and quantity. Together, these negative factors too often undermine disadvantaged youths' skills, motivation, and preparation for a self-sufficient life. Disadvantaged youths are less likely to have a range of life options or a sense of hope for the future.

From the beginning of their lives, poor children are more likely to suffer deficits in all five key elements of self-sufficiency: education, health, work preparation, social responsibility and awareness, and personal growth. Poor children, for example, are three times more likely than non-poor children to lack full-year health insurance coverage. Health professionals working with low-income children estimate that as many as 80 percent are suffering from one or more untreated medical conditions. Poor nutrition and health during infancy and early childhood can impact cognitive development and increase the likelihood of learning disabilities. Throughout childhood and adolescence, poor health, including untreated visual, hearing, dental, and mental health problems, can contribute to decreased learning and school attendance.

Low-income children usually reside in less affluent communities that have fewer resources to invest in public schools. In school, they are often channeled into general, vocational, or special education programs, frequently regardless of their potential. Outside of school, their communities seldom offer programs and facilities that challenge their minds and bodies.

One result of lower quality, inadequate education is that poor children are more likely to have lower basic academic skills. Recent analyses of the National Longitudinal Survey of Young Americans have documented the levels of basic reading and math skills of poor students compared to their peers:

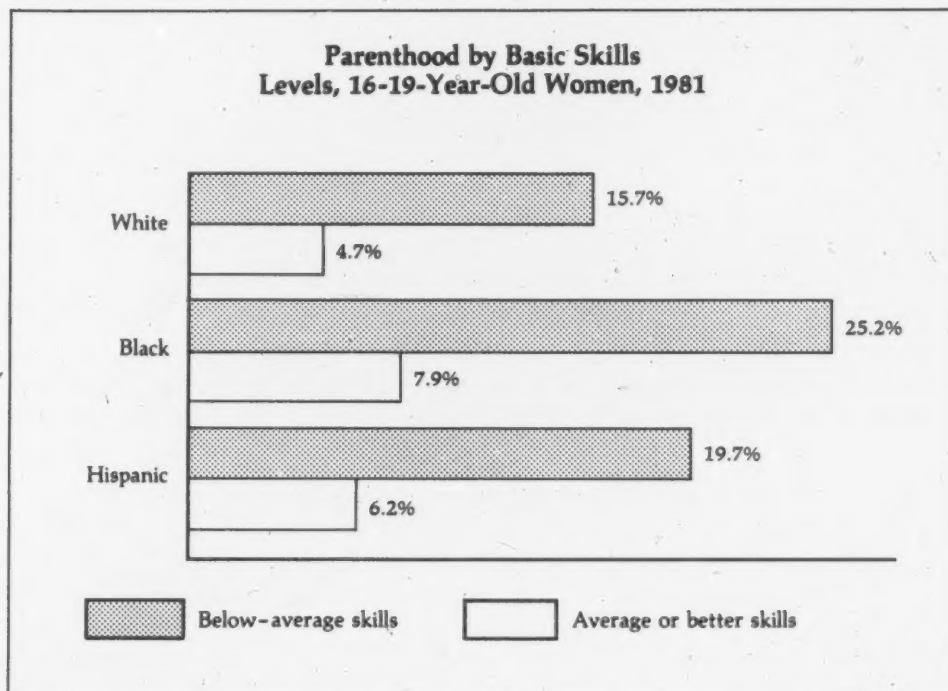
- More than half of the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds with family incomes below the poverty level have basic skills in the bottom fifth of the distribution for their age group. Low-income teens are four times as likely to have poor basic skills as are teens with family incomes above poverty.
- More than half of the black fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds and four out of ten of the Hispanic teens fell in the bottom skills group, compared with 13 percent of the white teens. The racial differences, however, are much smaller when income is taken into account. Among teens living in

poverty, more than four out of ten white teens, more than half the Hispanic teens, and more than six out of ten black teens fell in the bottom skills group.

Poverty, discrimination, and poor basic skills combine to produce a group of adolescents and young adults who have little opportunity to keep up with their peers and little reason to believe that playing by society's rules will increase their chances of becoming full participants in the benefits of that society. Effectively shut off from hopes of even modest success, these youths see little to gain by staying in school, delaying parenthood, or marrying once childbearing has begun. Together, their limited skills and limited opportunities disrupt their progress toward self-sufficiency.

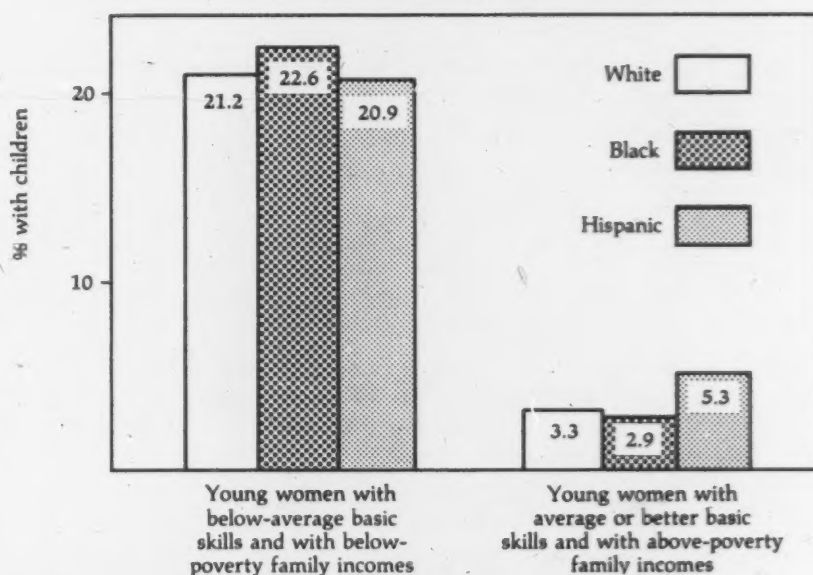
Not surprisingly, therefore, poor youths, regardless of race, are three to four times more likely to drop out of school than those from more affluent households. In large public school districts in our major cities, where the greatest majority of students come from poor families, dropout rates frequently exceed 40 percent. Youths who are poor and have weak basic skills are also more likely to suffer the further problems of early and unmarried parenthood.

- Sixteen- to nineteen-year-old young women with poor basic skills—whether white, black, or Hispanic—are more than three times as likely to be parents as are those with average or better basic skills.



- Young mothers nineteen- to twenty-three-years-old with poor basic skills are four times more likely to be single parents than are young mothers with average skills.
- Black, white, and Hispanic teenage women with below-poverty-level incomes and below-average basic skills face equally high chances of becoming parents during their teen years. These young women are almost six times as likely to be parents as teens with good basic skills whose families have incomes above the poverty level.

Percentage of 16-19-Year-Old Women With Children, 1981, by Race/Ethnicity, Poverty, and Basic Skills Level



Source: Unpublished analyses of the National Longitudinal Survey, courtesy of Andrew Sum, Northeastern University.

- The absent fathers of babies born to teens are more than twice as likely to have a history of unemployment or early school-leaving than are young men with no children or young fathers who are living with their children.
- Eighteen- and nineteen-year-old men with poor basic skills are three times as likely to be fathers as are those with average basic skills.

Our Nation Must Make Sure All Youths Receive the Help They Need

Dropping out of school and early parenthood are problems for all teens, but they disproportionately afflict poor and minority youths. The data strongly suggest that these problems have a common root: the limited life options that

stem from inadequate help from family and society at every stage of a child's development.

If we are to help reduce the numbers of youths who are, through these behaviors, seriously reducing their chances of adult self-sufficiency, we will have to address our children's unmet needs. Families, government, schools, churches, and communities all have a role in countering the powerful combination of lack of preparation and lack of opportunities with a range of efforts to put self-sufficiency within the reach of our children. Our nation must take preventive action now to reduce the numbers of disadvantaged youths who are becoming parents too soon and who thus are reducing seriously their chances of becoming self-sufficient adults. These efforts, discussed throughout this book, must reach at-risk children not just in their teen years, but at every step of their development.

- At every stage they need the food, shelter, and health care that will allow them to survive and thrive, to perform their "jobs" of learning and growing.
- As infants they need home environments that will protect and stimulate them and provide them with caring, consistent caretakers.
- As toddlers they must get early care or preschool care that is enriching and stimulating.
- As school children they need an educational environment that encourages them to stay engaged in learning and at the appropriate grade level, and structured, supervised programs after school and during summer months that not only occupy their time but challenge their minds and bodies.
- As teens they need a broad range of experiences, exposures, and relationships with adults that will build their self-esteem, extend their vision beyond neighborhood boundaries, continue their education, and expand their knowledge of the challenges of the skills required in the world of work.

No child, whether poor, middle class, or rich, can grow and develop without help. Every child deserves all the assistance that we can give in taking each step toward adulthood. While our society cannot replicate the ideal world for every child, it can and must ensure that all children receive the basic supports they need to move toward self-sufficiency.

12. ABUSED AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN AND OTHERS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

Annie was born prematurely and diagnosed as suffering from "failure to thrive" in her infancy. Annie's development was delayed seriously and she was making no progress. Due to reports of neglect by staff at a local health clinic, she was put in foster care three times in her first year. Her mother, who was just nineteen, had a history of drug use, and had gone through a variety of treatment programs. She was overwhelmed by the demands of caring for Annie. She often missed clinic appointments, left prescriptions unfilled, and had failed to arrange for all necessary immunizations. In December 1986, before she was two years old, Annie again was placed in foster care and her mother was formally charged with medical neglect. This time, however, Annie was placed in a specialized foster home with a foster mother who is a licensed practical nurse. The foster mother, while caring for Annie, also is working closely with Annie's mother to help her understand Annie's developmental needs and the special medical care she must get. Although Annie is still in foster care, the agency and foster mother are optimistic about her chances of being reunited with her mother. Her mother visits regularly and recently has started accompanying the foster mother and Annie for their clinic visits.

In addition to their basic needs for food, shelter, and health care, children have equally important emotional needs. They need to be free from abuse and neglect. They need permanent, secure homes. And they need to grow up with strong mental and emotional health. But for millions of children in America today, these needs are not met. An estimated 1.9 million children and adolescents were reported abused and neglected in 1985, the most recent year for which national data are available. This represents a 10.7 percent increase from 1984, and a 58 percent increase since 1981.

There are many public misperceptions about the tragic problem of child abuse and neglect.

First, some caution is appropriate in considering the recent growth in reports of child sexual abuse. Reports of such abuse have risen dramatically, from 35,000 reports in 1981 to 100,000 in 1984, according to estimates from

the American Association for Protecting Children. While a significant part of this increase may be due to real growth in the problem, part of the increase also is due to expanded public awareness about sexual abuse and increased training of professional child welfare staff about this type of abuse.

Second, the majority of abuse and neglect reports (42 percent) have concerned children alleged to be neglected. Abuse alone accounted for 33 percent and cases of both abuse and neglect for 17 percent. (The remaining 8 percent were unspecified.)

Third, the children affected often do not match the impressions provided by popular press coverage. Although the average age of an abused or neglected child is seven, 44 percent are preschool age children and 24 percent are teenagers. In more than 90 percent of the cases the child is victimized not by a stranger but by a parent, other family member, or friend known to the child.

Finally, although families on public assistance and those experiencing poor economic and living conditions are often overrepresented among reported cases, these numbers can be deceptive. They tend to be skewed by the increased contact of poor families with public agencies (making it more likely that their problems will be brought to light) and the tendency of poverty-level living conditions to lead to neglect of children's physical needs.

Children who have been abused or neglected have a significant overlap with another vulnerable group of children—those in foster care. Approximately 60 percent of the children and adolescents who are removed from their families and placed in foster care each year have been abused or neglected. Most others enter foster care because parents are not able to care for them. Some children enter care because of their own handicaps or behavior problems with which their birth parents cannot cope. According to the most recent estimate, there are slightly more than 275,000 children in foster care—significantly fewer than the approximately 500,000 reported to be in care in 1977 and 9 percent less than the number in care in 1980, but slightly more than in 1983. Although thirty states decreased their foster care caseloads between 1980 and 1984, eleven reported increases of more than 25 percent during that same period.

Increasingly, the children entering care are adolescents and seriously troubled children. In many states today, youths thirteen and older account for approximately 40 percent of the existing caseloads. Teens make up about the same percentage of youths entering care. Approximately 56 percent of the 4,512 children in Nebraska's foster care system as of December 31, 1985 were teenagers. Most of them had entered care in the past two years.

These two groups—abused and neglected children and those in foster care—have some overlap with a third group of vulnerable children: those with serious emotional problems. Yet children in need of mental health services are far more numerous than either of the other groups. An estimated 7.5 million to 9.5 million children in this country are in need of mental health services. Approximately 3 million of them have serious emotional problems. While the mental health problems of adults, particularly those who are chronically mentally ill, have received a great deal of attention in recent years, public awareness and legislative action concerning comparable problems in children and adolescents have lagged far behind.

All these children with special needs—those who have been abused or neglected, those who end up in foster care, and those who have emotional problems—create special challenges for their parents and other family members. These children often have multiple, usually interrelated problems that are difficult to address for parents who may themselves be experiencing crises or trying to cope with their own special needs.

These children need special help and attention. They represent a sizable minority of the 63 million children in this country, and their needs cannot be ignored. To do so risks worse harm to them and to society. For example, staff members of state juvenile justice facilities in North Dakota estimate that 80 percent of the young women admitted who are status offenders or juvenile delinquents have experienced sexual abuse. The rising teen suicide rate is further dramatic evidence that our children's troubles have not been addressed adequately during their early years.

For many others, emotional problems persist into adult life, at a high continuing cost to the individual and to society. An estimated 50 to 80 percent of those children and adolescents who have been identified as chronically mentally ill retain their disabilities into adult life, according to a June 1986 report on mental health services by the National Conference of State Legislatures. Many end up as a burden to their communities, drifting into lives of crime, alcoholism, or drug addiction. Others who could have led more independent and productive lives end up in costly, restrictive institutional settings. In large part because of the huge costs of institutional care, mental disorders and addictions rank third among the causes of personal health expenditures in the nation.

The issue is not whether to invest in help for these vulnerable children, but when and how.

An Initial Federal Framework of Programs for Children with Special Needs Is in Place

Our nation now has in place a federal framework for efforts designed to begin to address the special needs of these three groups of children. The major sections of the framework were put in place between 1974 and 1980. During that period, the federal government stepped up its efforts to help these vulnerable children. While primary responsibility for child welfare services was left with the individual states, federal leadership helped dramatize these children's needs, increase the pool of resources available to meet them, and establish certain protections on their behalf.

These advances were threatened repeatedly between 1981 and 1983, however, as the Administration attempted—usually unsuccessfully—to limit vital protections for vulnerable children and families and resources specifically targeted on their behalf. Due to support in Congress, the framework has survived these attacks. And while funding for some programs is still well below 1981 levels in real terms (adjusted for inflation), Congress has supplemented the framework recently by passing small initiatives targeted on particular aspects of the unmet needs.

Abused and Neglected Children

Abused and neglected children get some measure of federal protection through the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act, enacted in 1974. The Act authorizes grants to states to assist them in developing and strengthening programs designed to prevent child abuse and neglect and to provide treatment for its victims. To become eligible to receive these funds, states must implement certain protections for abused and neglected children and their families. The Act also funds a discretionary grants program, administered by the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, which supports research, demonstration projects,

and service improvement and training projects. The Act's funds also support the Center's National Clearinghouse on Child Abuse and Neglect, which tracks the research and demonstration programs.

To further help states protect abused and neglected children, as well as provide other services, in 1974 Congress enacted the Title XX Social Services Program, the major source of federal funding for child protective services. Funds are used to staff public child protection agencies and to provide direct services to troubled children and their families. Other initiatives also target attention on child abuse prevention activities: the Department of Defense's Family Advocacy Program and the Coast Guard's child abuse initiative focus on the problems of child and spousal abuse in military families. The Child Abuse Challenge Grants Program, enacted in 1984, recently provided grants to thirty-three states that had established child abuse prevention activities. The federal government made challenge grants generally equal to 25 percent of the state revenues generated by Children's Trust Funds or other specific state initiatives.

In 1984 Congress also enacted the Family Violence Prevention and Services Program to support programs that provide immediate shelter and related services to family violence victims and their children. The Children's Justice Act, enacted in 1986, will provide grants to states from the federal Crime Victims Fund (consisting of criminal fines from persons convicted of federal offenses) for improving the investigation and handling of child sexual abuse cases and reducing the trauma suffered by their victims. A respite care program for child victims of abuse also was included in the Act.

Children in Foster Care

Many children in foster care are receiving some federal assistance under the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act, enacted in 1980. It encourages child welfare improvements in three ways: by providing alternatives to prevent unnecessary out-of-home placements, encouraging permanency planning for children who are in care, and ensuring quality care for children in placement. The Act's requirements for individual case plans and periodic case reviews also offer protection to individual children and have opened up the practices of state child welfare agencies to increased scrutiny.

Such federal efforts have meant that fewer children linger in foster care indefinitely without any state agency or judicial official knowing who they are or where they are. Increased information about children has helped reveal additional problems in the system and create the impetus for broader reforms. For example, improved data systems and the increased scrutiny of individual cases made Congress more aware of the special needs of teens in foster care. This, in turn, prompted Congress to target a special program on the unique needs of these youths as part of the Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985. This program, the Independent Living Initiative, designed to help teens in foster care make the difficult transition from care to living on their own, was made part of the federal foster care program.

The Act has helped smooth the way for more adoptions of special needs children, many of whom formerly languished in foster care. In FY 1987 an estimated 30,000 children with mental, physical, or emotional handicaps or other special needs will benefit from the Act's Adoption Assistance program, an increase from 165 in FY 1981.

Another small federal program—the Adoption Opportunities Program—also provides funds to help states remove legal barriers to adoption and to increase outreach and public education on this issue. Congress expanded

funding for the program's activities on behalf of special needs children, particularly minority children, in FY 1986.

The Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act also has encouraged efforts that have enabled more youths at risk of entering foster care to avoid entering the system in the first place. These alternative efforts help keep families together and have proven cost-effective as well.

- A two-year evaluation of fourteen preplacement preventive service projects established in Virginia with federal funds demonstrated the projects' overall effectiveness in maintaining and strengthening families and saving public dollars. Home-based services such as counseling and homemakers coupled with structural family therapy resulted in significant improvements in overall family functioning in 69 percent of the cases, and a coinciding decrease in problems experienced by the families. Only 7 percent of the 715 children at risk of being placed in foster care actually were. The average cost for the children served was \$1,214 per child, significantly less than the estimated average room and board cost of caring for a child in a foster family home (\$11,173) or a residential treatment facility (\$22,025) for the average length of time in care (4.6 years).
- An evaluation of child placement prevention projects operated from 1983 to 1985 in four Wisconsin counties and funded through the federal Child Welfare Services program also found that prevention works. The projects provided parent training, individual and family therapy, parent aides, emergency cash grants, and peer support groups. Eighty-seven percent of the at-risk children served were able to avoid entering foster care as of the end of the study. A follow-up of closed cases three months later revealed they were still at home.

Children with Serious Emotional Problems

The federal government has made only a modest beginning to address our nation's massive unmet needs in the area of children's mental health. In 1984 Congress set up the Child and Adolescent Service System Program (CASSP), a small federal grant program designed to help states improve the coordination of services for severely emotionally disturbed children and adolescents. The FY 1987 CASSP funding level of \$4.7 million, up from \$1.5 million in the first year, is giving the problem of children's mental health higher priority status and greater visibility in more than half the states. As of early 1987, twenty-eight state CASSP projects (including the District of Columbia and the Virgin Islands) and three local CASSP projects were underway.

The CASSP grants and technical assistance, while modest in dollar terms, serve as a catalyst to encourage increased focus on children's needs within state mental health departments, to facilitate coordination among child-serving state agencies on behalf of disturbed children, and to prompt the development of comprehensive systems of care. CASSP also encourages states to replicate this process at the local level. CASSP improves outreach to parents by requiring that a grantee state have a plan for including parent support and parent advocacy in its projects.

The Kansas CASSP is a good example of how the program works. During the past two years, this state's program has been the catalyst for the establishment of a range of local programs that have allowed children to move from inpatient to community settings. It also has made special outreach efforts to minority youths and to families with severely disturbed children.

In addition to establishing CASSP, Congress in 1985 required that states set aside at least 10 percent of their mental health funds under the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant for new services for severely disturbed children and adolescents and other underserved populations and areas. Although the total amount of the set-aside was less than \$20 million, the requirement at least reflected Congress's recognition that children are an underserved group. Some states, such as Alabama, Iowa, Mississippi, and Texas, used all of the set-aside funds for children, thus effectively complementing their CASSP activities in some instances. However, the block grant's emphasis on children was weakened somewhat in 1986, and the long-term impact of the requirement is uncertain.

Congress enacted several significant mental health initiatives in 1986. Although they are not targeted specifically on children, they provide more help for all of those in need of mental health services. If they are adequately funded, disturbed children and adolescents can benefit from them. The Protection and Advocacy for Mentally Ill Individuals Act (PL 99-319) provides \$10.5 million in FY 1987 for advocacy and other services to protect the rights of mentally ill persons in residential facilities (including small group homes) to be free of abuse or neglect. Congress also passed legislation requiring states to develop by 1988 comprehensive mental health services plans designed to establish organized systems of care for chronically mentally ill individuals, both children and adults. Each state's interagency plan, when funds are appropriated for it, will complement efforts now underway with CASSP funds.

Very young children with serious emotional disturbances also stand to benefit from amendments made in 1986 to the Education for All Handicapped Children Act. Due to these improvements, by 1991 children ages three to five must be provided the same rights and protections now provided to older children. A new program of grants to states to serve handicapped infants also was enacted.

Existing Systems, Both Federal and State, Are Not Adequate to Meet the Needs of These Children

Despite important strides in recent years, the federal commitment to meeting the special needs of troubled children and families is still grossly inadequate. With regard to all three groups of children—those that have been abused and neglected, those in foster care, and those with unmet mental health needs—state and local systems set up to provide help are underfunded and are being swamped by rapid increases in demand for their services.

Abused and Neglected Children Go Unserved

Over the past several years, a number of states and communities have suffered increases in reports of abuse and neglect that far exceed even the national rates of increase.

- In Wisconsin reports of abuse and neglect jumped from 8,500 in 1981 to 23,000 in 1985. Child sexual abuse reports rose 128 percent in 1984 alone.
- In New Mexico the number of child abuse and neglect referrals was up 33 percent in the first nine months of 1985 over the same period in 1984.

- One case of child abuse is reported to the San Francisco Division of Family and Children's Services every three hours. In 1985 that city's Emergency Response staff of twenty received more than 1,300 reports of abuse and neglect.

Such increases in reports have forced states to make impossible choices among competing demands for scarce staff time and resources. Because many state laws require a response within twenty-four hours to *all* abuse or neglect reports, state officials must spend more time investigating the growing volume of reports. Due to the escalating demands, certain types of reports sometimes are given lower priority arbitrarily, according to the Child Welfare League of America's 1986 study *Too Young to Run*. The study found that some officials, in an attempt to respond to what they viewed as the most serious cases first, automatically were giving reports of neglect lower priority than reports of abuse, and sometimes setting aside reports of abuse of older children—on the theory that they are old enough to run away from home in order to avoid abuse.

Although only an estimated 40 percent of the reports generally end up being substantiated each year, those that are, and many others that are set aside, require services to avert more serious crises in the families involved. Some states and communities face difficulty doing a quality job following up on individual cases because of increased demands resulting from excessive caseloads, rapid turnover of workers, and lack of resources to meet the specialized treatment needs of children.

- In Maine, child protective service referrals increased 58 percent between 1982 and 1985. Although approximately half of these cases were screened out at intake, the new cases investigated increased 37 percent, and the total cases served each year increased 32 percent. During the same three-year period, however, the number of authorized child protective service workers increased by only seventeen, and workers carried an average load of sixty-five cases each.
- More than 60,000 cases involving abused and neglected children were handled by Missouri's Division of Family Services in 1985. Less than 20 percent of the troubled children and their families who needed treatment services received them. Family therapy, home-based services, parent aides, and day treatment were among the services most frequently needed but not received. Large caseloads (which prevent good case management), lack of assessment procedures, and inadequate training for protective service staff were cited as contributing factors.
- Nearly a third of the caseworkers in the Broward County, Florida child protective service agency have been on the job six months or less. In one unit alone, more than half of the investigators quit. Although caseloads average thirty-eight children per worker, the high turnover has meant caseloads of more than 100 for some workers. Auditors from the state's Inspector General's office have reported that overburdened workers are not able to complete investigations on time, or to monitor adequately cases involving children who are left at home under protective supervision.
- A 1986 report, *The Continuing Crisis: A Report on New York City's Response to Families Requiring Protective and Preventive Services*, also cites high staff turnover rates. In 1985 there was a 55 percent turnover among protective service workers in New York City's Office of Special Services

for Children (ranging from 25 percent in Queens to 89 percent in Manhattan). Workers attribute the high attrition to low salaries, poor working conditions, unmanageable caseloads, and intolerable pressures that arise from trying to protect children without adequate resources.

The federal government is not providing enough help to enable state protective services systems to meet the escalating workload. A key source of child abuse prevention and treatment funds—the Title XX Social Services Block Grant, which provides the bulk of federal funding for child protective services—itsself has fallen victim to Reagan Administration cutbacks. This program was cut by 21 percent in 1981 alone, and since FY 1984 only has kept level funding. Its current \$2.7 billion level is still \$200 million less than what the program was funded at in 1981, while reports of abuse and neglect have jumped 58 percent since that time. Although Congress has rejected the Administration's proposals to reduce funding for other child abuse and family violence prevention programs, the funds available for these programs are still far from adequate. They would not even provide \$150 for services for each child reported abused or neglected in 1985, not to mention the millions of other children already in line for services from child welfare agencies.

Sadly, in some states increases in deaths of children at home or in foster care provide brutal evidence of the current overload on state child welfare systems. The National Committee for Prevention of Child Abuse recently reported that the number of child deaths due to maltreatment increased dramatically in 1986. In the twenty-four states for which survey data were available, the number of confirmed or suspected child deaths due to maltreatment increased 26.7 percent over 1985, from 386 to 489, whereas deaths in those same states had declined by 2 percent between 1984 and 1985. States like Illinois and Florida are among those struggling to respond to increased numbers of deaths.

- In Illinois eighty-two children died from abuse and neglect in the year ending June 30, 1986, a 49 percent increase from the previous year. One-fourth of these children's families had at some point been under investigation by the state Department of Children and Family Services.
- Deaths caused by child abuse and neglect occurring among children who are under the protection of Florida child welfare officials have nearly tripled since 1983. Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services records show nineteen deaths of children in state care in 1983, but fifty-five deaths in 1985. All of the children who died in 1985 were in families being investigated by the department.

Despite the growing crisis, federal funding available for the eight programs that provide child welfare-related research or services has decreased since 1981. At the same time, statutory mandates to protect abused and neglected children have forced states to channel the scarce funding available into front-end services for children, leaving little to provide follow-up services identified as necessary for the families involved, or for child care and other essential preventive services. Although some states have increased their own expenditures in these areas, many others have not.

Too often our public social service systems are pressured by public opinion to respond to such crises by putting more investigators on the street and removing more children from their families and placing them in foster care. Regrettably, such crises rarely result in increased efforts to improve assessments of individual children and families, to increase investments in

preventive services to children in their own homes, or to coordinate among various agencies to make sure vulnerable families get the full range of resources necessary to their survival.

Children in Foster Care Require Specialized Services

The child welfare system is equally overburdened on another front: meeting the needs of children in foster care and other troubled children who are in the agencies' care or come to their attention.

Some states now are seeing significant increases in the number of children in foster care. Placements that can meet the special needs of these children are often not available.

- In New York City, in part because of the "crack" cocaine epidemic, the number of children being placed in foster care in some months has been 70 percent higher than during the same months last year. Social workers report that infants are often in different beds each night. During October 1986, 140 babies were reported to be waiting in city hospitals for placements—five times the number waiting a year ago.
- The recently released 1985 Maryland Foster Care Review Board Report to the General Assembly found that the lack of foster homes in that state has reached crisis proportions. Evidence included a nearly 50 percent increase in children in emergency foster homes.
- Not only has Missouri's foster care population increased recently, but it includes a higher proportion of troubled youths than in the past. Placements in residential treatment programs increased 7 percent in 1985 and are expected to increase 16 percent during the next year.

Some states are trying to focus more on such innovative efforts as preventing unnecessary foster care placements, working to ensure permanent families for children in care, and helping older youths in care make the transition to independent living. But growing foster care caseloads and expenditures for out-of-home care still far outstrip expenditures for these preventive alternatives, often resulting in their postponement or discontinuation. The greater number of children needing help, combined with decreasing federal resources, too often has meant simply less effort for each child in the system.

Alternative programs get far less federal help than more traditional efforts. Federal expenditures for foster care currently are more than twice those targeted on alternative services. State efforts reflect the same skewed priorities. Although there was a 24 percent increase in expenditures for alternatives between 1981 and 1985, total foster care expenditures increased nearly twice as fast during the same period. A 1986 survey of state child welfare activities by the National Conference of State Legislatures revealed that, in the sixteen states responding, spending for foster care alternatives (including adoption assistance) between 1981 and 1985 accounted for only 38 percent of total child welfare expenditures.

The Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act requires that states make reasonable efforts to prevent unnecessary placements of children in foster care and to reunify children with their families. The federal Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) has done little, however, to prompt states to comply fully with these provisions. HHS has provided virtually no guidance to states governing implementation of the Act's most crucial protections, nor has it required states to establish uniform data systems so they can track their

progress in helping children in care. Only when Congress called for such tracking in the Sixth Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986 did HHS take action, appointing an Advisory Committee on Adoption and Foster Care to make recommendations regarding the development of a national data collection system.

HHS also has been dragging its feet on implementation of an innovative program to help teens in foster care: the federal independent living initiative established by Congress in April 1986 as part of the Foster Care Program created by Title IV-E of the Social Security Act. Although the law entitled states to proportional shares of a \$45 million funding pool as of October 1, 1986, HHS to date has issued no guidance to the states on how to apply for this help. Despite this silence, more than half of the states, facing urgent needs for services to assist these teens in making the transition to independent living, already have submitted independent living plans to HHS.

HHS' own statistics bear out the states' concern about the plight of teens in foster care. HHS officials estimate that approximately 50,000 youths sixteen and older leave foster care each year; at least one-third of them are discharged to their own responsibility. Fewer than 20 percent of the adolescents in substitute care return to their birth families, while even fewer (some studies say only one in twenty) are likely to be adopted. Without any form of secure adult support, these youths too frequently become the responsibility of other public systems. One study of occupants of homeless shelters in New York City reported that about half had a history of foster care placements. Another New York study found that one-third of the youths leaving foster care during a defined period ended up on Aid to Families with Dependent Children or the city's Home Relief Program within eighteen months or less of leaving care.

A 1986 HHS-funded study of independent living programs for youths in substitute care highlighted the need to focus more attention on the delivery of services to these youths, especially services to help smooth their transition to self-sufficiency:

"Youth in care were discharged with minimal experience in living on their own (15 percent had experienced independent living arrangements). Many of the youth had to experience living on their own without any prior practice. For many youth, lack of preparation also included lack of training in basic living skills, no high school diploma [less than half of the eighteen-year-olds discharged from substitute care left with a high school diploma], and/or lack of a support system to turn to once they were discharged."

Although this report acknowledged the importance of the federal government's role in supporting state initiatives for independent living services, HHS continues to resist expanded involvement in this area.

Children with Serious Emotional Problems Need Services

The gap between the need for and the availability of children's mental health services remains wide, despite increased policy attention to the problem in recent years. Unless our nation makes more extensive efforts on behalf of seriously emotionally disturbed children and adolescents, their problems will continue to go undetected or untreated and will intensify.

Children's Mental Health: Problems and Services, a January 1987 background paper by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment (OTA), reported

that an estimated 7.5 million to 9.5 million children in America suffer from emotional or other problems that warrant mental health treatment. Of this group, the report estimated that 70 to 80 percent do not receive needed care. It also documented the shortage of community-based services, case management, and coordination across child service systems. Such a finding confirms earlier data, published in *Unclaimed Children*, a 1982 Children's Defense Fund (CDF) report, that two-thirds of the 3 million seriously disturbed children and adolescents in this country—including a disproportionately high number of poor and minority children—were not receiving appropriate treatment. For those children who are seriously disturbed, the CDF report found that inpatient hospital care—the most restrictive and costly form of care—was often the most accessible.

Recent data from individual states confirm the dearth of appropriate services, resulting in widespread unmet needs in this crucial area.

- A 1986 report by the Governor's Commission on Children and Adolescents at Risk in North Dakota reported that only 14.8 percent of the estimated 24,000 children and adolescents in the state requiring mental health services are receiving treatment from human service centers across the state. Adequate or available services also are hampered by a shortage of mental health specialists at every level. Children in need of long-term residential care usually are sent out of state.

Particular groups of youngsters in some states are at higher risk and are especially unlikely to get help or appropriate care.

- A recent study by the Mental Health Association of Colorado found children younger than twelve to be dramatically underserved. While the number of available inpatient beds is limited, alternative programs are even more scarce. The study estimated that there currently are no more than two or three programs for preschool children in the state, all of which are in the Denver area. Staff expertise in this area is also very limited.
- A recent report of the Task Force on Child and Adolescent Psychological Needs of the Health Systems Agency of South Central Connecticut found that the inpatient age at the Children's Psychiatric Emergency Service of the Hospital of St. Raphael has dropped in the past two years from an average of seven or eight to four or five years old—an age at which inpatient care generally is thought to be inappropriate.

The unmet mental health needs of youths in the child welfare system have also increasingly come to light.

- A recent study of foster children's access to health care in California prepared for the Packard Foundation reported that acute and chronic mental health problems of foster children are rarely addressed. Only one county of the fourteen surveyed routinely provides dependent children with a mental health evaluation upon intake. Yet mental health problems, including acting out, depression, consequences of sexual abuse, and school and social problems, are more frequent and more severe than other medical problems for children when they are in care. The survey found that none of the counties provides written guidelines for mental health assessment and therapy, and that most services provided by available mental health programs were deficient.

Difficult as it is for a child in care to get his or her mental health needs met, help is even more difficult to obtain for children and families who need it to remain together and stay out of the foster care system.

- Maryland's Inter-Agency Plan for Children With Special Needs claimed that "the availability of mental health services for children and their families continues to be one of the most critical gaps in the continuum ... it is frequently the missing link in a state agency's plan to maintain a child out of substitute care."

One reason that youths are more likely to end up in inappropriate inpatient placements is that, for the most part, both private and public insurance programs provide little if any coverage of treatment in less restrictive settings.

- The National Institute of Mental Health reports that annual admissions of youths younger than eighteen to private psychiatric hospitals more than doubled between 1970 and 1980, a trend that has escalated since 1980. The increase is attributed to private health insurance, which often more readily pays for inpatient than outpatient care.
- Researchers at the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota suggest that gains made in removing juveniles from juvenile justice institutions may be offset by corresponding increases in institutionalization in the child welfare and mental health systems. For example, their study revealed significant increases in placements of juveniles in inpatient psychiatric and chemical dependency treatment programs. The rate of placement of juveniles for inpatient psychiatric treatment in private hospitals in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area doubled between 1976 and 1984. The Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Minnesota costs for inpatient psychiatric treatment of juveniles increased by more than 100 percent between 1978 and 1982, due primarily to increased admissions. Sixty percent of the youths served were between fifteen and seventeen.
- Medicaid represents 55 percent of all public health funds spent on children, but the percentage of Medicaid funds devoted to mental health care is not known and states often limit the mental health care they provide.

The federal government could do much to improve the mental health services states now offer to children. The Office of Technology Assessment reports that models for providing community-based continuums of mental health care exist, and that preliminary evidence suggests that such continuums can be effective. To help each state establish such systems of care, OTA suggests an expanded federal investment in the Child and Adolescent Services System Program, coupled with increased dollars for a range of mental health services, stressing the development of less restrictive programs of care. OTA also suggests that the federal government could help states provide more and better services, establish certain rights of children to services, eradicate environmental risk factors, conduct research and training, and facilitate the coordination of services.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1988

The Administration's budget proposals for FY 1988 do nothing to address the overwhelming unmet needs of abused and neglected children, youths in foster care, and children and adolescents with serious emotional problems. Its requests for level funding for many programs, and reduced funding for others, ignore the growing demands that these children and families with special needs are placing on existing service systems.

President Reagan's FY 1988 budget proposes to:

- Eliminate for FY 1987 and FY 1988 the \$45 million independent living program designed to assist older youths in foster care to become self-sufficient when they leave care. Congress added these entitlement funds to the Title IV-E Foster Care Program in 1986 because of its concern that, without increased help, youths who leave foster care with no families to return to are ending up homeless or dependent on other public systems. The Administration ignored Congress's direction that the program be implemented on October 1, 1986, and instead has proposed to use the FY 1987 funds for other purposes and seek repeal of the program's legislative authority for FY 1988. It evidently also intends to ignore the applications that more than half the states have submitted to HHS for the independent living funds to which they are entitled.
- Seek a generic appropriation of \$2.2 billion for FY 1988 for twenty-six Office of Human Development Services programs, including those targeted on victims of abuse and neglect, runaway and homeless youths, children awaiting adoptive families, developmentally disabled children, and children and families in need of other child welfare services. The programs' funding levels for FY 1988 are uncertain, as the Administration has asked that it be allowed to set its own funding priorities among the twenty-six programs. However, the fact that the \$2.2 billion total requested by the Administration is \$69 million less than the FY 1987 appropriation levels for the twenty-six programs, coupled with the fact that the Administration attempted to rescind all or part of the funding for five of the children's programs last year, gives cause for serious concern.
- Reduce funding for the Child Welfare Services Program by 10 percent for FY 1987, and likely leave it at that lower level for FY 1988. These program funds are critical to states' efforts to preserve families and to reunify with their families children who must be placed in foster care. Yet the Administration proposes to reprogram \$22.5 million in Child Welfare Services funds for use for the federal Foster Care Program in FY 1987. In FY 1988 the Administration includes the Child Welfare Services Program in its generic appropriation request and assumes the \$22.5 million reduction will continue.
- Maintain the Title XX Social Services Block Grant at its FY 1987 level of \$2.7 billion for FY 1988. This leaves this major funding source for state and local child protective service programs and staff more than \$1 billion less than its FY 1981 funding level in inflation-adjusted dollars. Since 1981, however, almost every state has experienced an increase in reports of abuse and neglect, and the reported increase nationwide is 58 percent.

- Reduce FY 1988 funds available for the federal Foster Care Program by 21 percent below the amount expected to be spent in FY 1987, while projecting that it will serve an average of 8,000 more children a month. The Administration also proposes to limit administration and training expenditures available under the foster care program. These funds are used to ensure that youths in care have case plans, that their cases are reviewed periodically, and that they are moved promptly toward permanent families.
- Maintain FY 1988 funding for the federal Adoption Assistance Program at approximately the level expected to be spent in FY 1987, even though it projects that an additional 9,000 special needs children will be assisted under the program. The Administration's proposed cap on administration and training expenditures under the adoption program will limit dollars available for recruitment and training of adoptive parents and post-adoption supports (essential activities if special needs children awaiting adoption are to find permanent families).
- Maintain funding for the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant and the Child and Adolescent Service System Program (CASSP) at their FY 1987 levels, even though the Office of Technology Assessment recently reported that from 70 to 80 percent of children and adolescents with mental health problems are not receiving needed services. The \$495 million level requested for the block grant is less than 60 percent of its FY 1981 level in inflation-adjusted dollars. CASSP is part of the larger Community Support Program for chronically mentally ill adults. The Administration has requested a \$5 million increase for the Community Support Program, but recommended that it be spent on community programs targeted to the homeless mentally ill rather than expansion of interagency coordination activities on behalf of seriously emotionally disturbed children and adolescents.

CDF Recommendations

The problems confronting these children, their families, and the systems responsible for serving them cannot be addressed only by reforms and improved resources directed at the child welfare and mental health systems. Broader government investments to prevent the root causes of many of these children's and families' problems—unemployment, low wages, homelessness, inadequate education, and lack of food and health care—also must be made.

Immediate, specific steps to address gross deficiencies in the current ability of child welfare and mental health systems also can make a positive difference, however. Our communities would not permit the fire department to ignore some fires and put out others, day after day, year after year, because sufficient resources were not available to respond appropriately to every alarm. Yet that is how we have structured our protective services system. Staff members are asked to make comparable choices affecting the lives of children on a daily basis, and there is little community outcry for increased resources. Agencies must have adequate resources to safeguard the welfare of all children and serve all groups of troubled children and families.

To do their increasingly difficult jobs, these systems need new service dollars (both federal and state) and the resources to hire more staff. These staff members must have adequate qualifications and training and receive adequate compensation for their hard work. Second, states (with federal help) must

establish a system of care that provides comprehensive assessments and planning for individual children and families and includes a commitment to meet identified service needs.

The federal government must help states provide children and families with a range of services and programs designed to meet their individual and varied social, physical, mental health, and emotional needs. These services and programs should adhere to the following principles:

- Children should receive a full developmental assessment that identifies their strengths along with their needs.
- Services should be provided to the child and family in their own home, if possible, or in the least restrictive and most family-like setting appropriate to the child's needs.
- The family should be fully involved in all services provided to the child.
- Children in all child-caring systems should have access to a continuum of services, nonresidential and residential, including early intervention, respite care, foster family homes, therapeutic group homes, and residential treatment programs.
- A case advocate should be available to help the child and family negotiate the various systems that provide services and to ensure the provision of appropriate care.
- For children in out-of-home care, timely efforts should be made either to reunify them with their families or, where that is not possible, place them with new permanent families. All youths, especially those who will not return to families, should be prepared during their teens for the transition to independent living.
- All parties involved should be assured of some basic protections. At a minimum, these should include case plans, periodic reviews, and due process protections, such as the right of a family to participate, with representation, when important decisions relating to its child's future are being made.

Current federal programs offer an initial framework for helping children and families with special needs. But our nation must increase significantly the resources available on their behalf, and make a commitment to the establishment of a comprehensive system of services, and more careful monitoring of the well-being of children. Without these further efforts, the existing framework provides little protection for our nation's most vulnerable children.

Over the next five years, federal investments on behalf of children and adolescents with special needs and their families should at least be tripled. Federal support should be made available for the full range of services that are needed. In the short term, increased funds must be provided for the programs that serve these three vulnerable groups.

First, our nation must make a larger investment in programs helping abused and neglected children and their families: the Title XX Social Services Block Grant, Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Program, Family Violence Prevention and Services Program, and Child Abuse Challenge Grants.

Second, funds for the Child Welfare Services Program, federal Foster Care and Adoption Assistance Programs, and the Adoption Opportunities Program—programs that provide services to prevent the unnecessary placement of children in foster care, to ensure permanent placements for children, and to

improve the quality of foster care for children—must all be increased to meet children's needs adequately. The federal independent living initiative for older youths in foster care also must be implemented immediately and the funds distributed to eligible states.

Finally, significantly more resources must be directed to the special needs of seriously emotionally disturbed children and adolescents and their families. A doubling of funding for the Child and Adolescent Service System Program in FY 1988 would allow more than ten additional states to receive grants. A set-aside in the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant for services for disturbed children and adolescents should be established, and overall funding for this program restored at least to its FY 1981 funding level.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Children With Special Needs: Funding and Budget Requests, FY1981-FY1988
(in millions of dollars)

	SSBG/ Title XX	Child Welfare Services	Child Welfare Training	Child Welfare Research	Foster Care	Independent Living	Adoption Assistance	Adoption Opportunities
FY1981 actual	\$2,991.8	\$163.0	\$5.2	\$11.0	\$327.8	—	\$5.0	\$5.0
FY1982 proposed	— ¹	— ¹	— ¹	— ²	— ¹	—	— ¹	— ²
FY1982 actual	2,460.0	156.3	3.8	11.0	321.6	—	5.0	1.9
FY1983 proposed	1,974.1	— ³	— ³	— ⁴	— ³	—	— ³	— ⁴
FY1983 actual	2,456.0	156.3	3.8	10.3	395.0	—	5.0	1.9
FY1984 proposed	2,560.0	156.0	— ⁵	— ⁶	440.0	—	5.0	— ⁶
FY1984 actual	2,700.0	165.0	2.6	9.5	478.5	—	5.0	1.9
FY1985 proposed	2,700.0	168.8	— ⁷	— ⁸	460.0	—	12.8	— ⁸
FY1985 actual	2,725.0	200.0	3.8	11.8	517.2	—	35.4	2.0
FY1986 proposed	2,700.0	200.0	3.8	8.4	485.0	—	41.9	1.4
FY1986 actual	2,700.0	207.0	3.8	11.8	507.6	—	41.9	5.0
After Gramm-Rudman	2,584.0	198.1	3.7	11.2 ⁹	— ¹⁰	—	— ¹⁰	4.8 ¹¹
FY1987 proposed	2,700.0	200.0	3.8	6.0 ¹²	544.3	—	59.9	1.4
FY1987 actual	2,700.0	222.5 ¹³	3.8	11.3	592.0 ¹⁴	45.0 ¹⁵	59.9 ¹⁴	5.0
FY1988 proposed	2,700.0	— ¹⁶	— ¹⁶	— ¹⁶	585.0	0.0 ¹⁷	97.0	— ¹⁶

	Child Abuse State Grants	Child Abuse Discretionary Grants	Child Abuse Challenge Grants	Family Violence Prevention and Services	Child and Ado- lescent Service System Program	Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant
FY1981 actual	\$6.9	\$16.1	—	—	—	\$691.0
FY1982 proposed	— ¹	— ²	—	—	—	— ¹⁸
FY1982 actual	6.7	9.5	—	—	—	428.0
FY1983 proposed	4.6	— ⁴	—	—	—	432.0
FY1983 actual	6.7	9.5	—	—	—	439.0
FY1984 proposed	6.7	— ⁶	—	—	—	439.0
FY1984 actual	6.7	9.5	—	—	\$1.5	462.0
FY1985 proposed	7.0	— ⁸	—	—	0.0	472.3
FY1985 actual	9.0	17.0	—	—	3.9	490.0
FY1986 proposed	12.0	10.0	—	—	0.0	490.0
FY1986 actual	12.0	14.0	\$5.0 ¹⁹	\$8.5	4.5 ²⁰	490.0
After Gramm-Rudman	11.4 ²¹	13.3 ⁹	5.0 ²²	8.4 ²³	4.0 ²⁰	468.9
FY1987 proposed	— ²⁴	— ²⁴	0.0	— ²²	0.0	490.0
FY1987 actual	12.0	13.9	5.0	8.5	4.7	495.0
FY1988 proposed	— ¹⁶	— ¹⁶	— ¹⁶	— ¹⁶	4.7 ²⁵	495.0

¹Proposed to consolidate in a \$3.8 billion Social Services Block Grant for FY1982; this is 25 percent below the FY1981 funding level for the programs proposed to be included in the block grant.

²Proposed to consolidate in a \$63 million social services discretionary pot for FY1982; this is \$23 million, or 27 percent, below the FY1981 funding level for the programs proposed to be consolidated.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

- ³Proposed to consolidate in a Child Welfare Block Grant for FY1983, with a 23 percent cut in funding from FY1982.
- ⁴Proposed to consolidate in a \$31 million pot for human resources research and demonstration activities, with funding to be at the same level as in FY1982.
- ⁵Proposed to combine with Child Welfare Services for FY1984, with funding to be cut by 2.4 percent from FY1983 levels.
- Proposed to consolidate in a \$9 million pot for human resources research and demonstration activities, with funding \$13 million, or 59 percent, below the FY1983 funding level for the programs to be consolidated.
- ⁷Proposed to combine with Child Welfare Services, with funding to remain at the same level as in FY1984.
- ⁸Proposed to be consolidated in a \$4 million human resources research and development pot for FY1985, with funding \$17 million, or 81 percent, below the FY1984 funding level for the programs to be consolidated.
- ⁹Proposed rescission of \$3.3 million over the post-Gramm-Rudman FY1986 level.
- ¹⁰These programs receive special treatment under Gramm-Rudman. Expenditures attributable to a foster care or adoption assistance rate increase that took effect between October 1, 1985 and September 30, 1986 are not eligible for federal reimbursement.
- ¹¹Proposed rescission of \$3.4 million over the post-Gramm-Rudman FY1986 level.
- ¹²In addition, a Social Services Research Program funded at \$2.4 million was proposed for FY1986; it would support cross-cutting research.
- ¹³Proposed to reprogram \$22.5 million of this FY1987 amount for the Foster Care and Adoption Assistance Programs.
- ¹⁴The Administration also proposed an FY1987 supplemental appropriation of \$97.7 million for the Title IV-E Foster Care and Adoption Assistance Programs, part of which will be derived from unobligated balances for the Social Services Block Grant proposed to reprogram \$67.5 million for the Foster Care and Adoption Assistance Programs from the Child Welfare Services and Independent Living Programs. The proposed supplemental and reprogrammings will provide \$127.2 million for foster care prior year claims and \$38 million for adoption assistance current and prior year claims.
- ¹⁵Proposed to reprogram this amount for FY1987 for the Foster Care and Adoption Assistance Programs, thereby eliminating for FY1987 the Independent Living Program established by Congress for FY1987 and FY1988 as part of the Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985.
- ¹⁶No specific amounts are requested for FY1988 for these programs. Rather, they are among the 26 Office of Human Development Services programs for which a "generic appropriation" of \$2.2 billion is requested for FY1988. The \$2.2 billion level is \$69 million below the combined FY 1987 appropriation levels for the 26 programs and includes a \$20 million increase for Head Start.
- ¹⁷Proposed to repeal the legislative authority for this program in FY1988.
- ¹⁸The programs eventually included in the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant were originally proposed for inclusion in the Health Services Block Grant, to be funded at \$1.1 billion for FY1982.
- ¹⁹\$5 million approved as part of FY1985 Supplemental Appropriations Bill, but it was not obligated in FY1985 and was carried over to FY1986.
- ²⁰The FY1986 appropriation for the Community Support Program and CASSP was increased from \$10.5 million to \$12.5 million. The projected increase for CASSP was expected to be about \$600,000; however, a FY1986 rescission of \$11.0 million over the post-Gramm-Rudman FY1986 level was proposed.
- ²¹Proposed rescission of \$3.3 million over the post-Gramm-Rudman FY1986 level.
- ²²Proposed to be rescinded for FY1986.
- ²³Includes \$6 million approved as part of FY1985 Supplemental Appropriations Bill that was not obligated in FY1985 and was carried over to FY1986.
- ²⁴Proposed to consolidate in a new \$30.5 million program of Family Crisis and Protective Service Grants for States for FY1987; this is 7.3 percent below the anticipated post-Gramm-Rudman FY1986 funding levels for the Child Abuse State Grants and discretionary programs and the Family Violence Prevention and Services program.
- ²⁵The FY1988 request for the Community Support Program, of which CASSP is a part, includes a \$5 million increase over FY1987. However, because the increase is described as being for demonstrations of community-based care for the homeless mentally ill, it is assumed funding for CASSP is intended to remain at its FY1987 level.

13. RUNAWAY YOUTHS AND OTHERS IN THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

By the time she reached age seventeen, Pam had been living on the streets, in shelters, group homes, and with various families for two years. (She was interviewed for the book *Youth at Risk* by Ann Burgess.) Since Pam first ran away from home at age ten, she had run away twelve times. She reported a history of physical and sexual abuse by her mother, her mother's boyfriends, and her stepfather, starting at age five. Though both her mother and stepfather had alcohol abuse problems, she kept returning home because she had nowhere else to turn. She left home for the last time two years ago after her baby sister was placed in foster care because of parental neglect. She says her parents threw her out. On the street she carries weapons for protection, and admits to shoplifting, joyriding, fighting, and drug and alcohol abuse. She feels she is alone and has no place to go.

Spike is the oldest of five siblings, two of whom are in foster care as a result of parental abuse. His mother, twenty-seven years old and herself a victim of parental neglect, is addicted to heroin. The family broke up when Spike was ten years old and his mother was incarcerated. Since then, Spike has bounced between his father, other relatives, friends, and the street. He has not been in school for at least two years. He recently has been diagnosed as having serious learning disabilities, but never has received any special education help. Spike, now fifteen years old, recently was arrested for burglary and, pending a hearing, placed in a shelter house in the delinquency system of an eastern state. The recent arrest is Spike's second. An earlier arrest for selling drugs resulted in placement in a residential drug program. Although this program addressed his drug abuse, it did not grapple with the underlying problems in Spike's life.

Spike carries with him a lot of anger, frustration, loneliness, and fear. If no further help is forthcoming, he is an almost certain candidate to end up in the adult criminal justice system.

Like Pam and Spike, many troubled youths have suffered abuse and neglect; some have been in the foster care system, and others have special

emotional needs that have never been addressed. However, by ages seventeen or fifteen they and their peers are much less likely to be considered victims and much more likely to be labeled "bad kids." Many see such youths' running away, delinquent acts, and other forms of acting out simply as behavior that deserves punishment.

A growing number of experts, policy-makers, and youth workers, however, see the actions of troubled youths in a different way: as stemming from unmet needs that they and their families often face but cannot tackle without help. While youths should be held responsible for their actions, according to this view, the underlying problems that prompted them also must be addressed. This means trying to help troubled young people while there is still time to set them on a track that will enable them to avoid entanglement with our adult criminal justice or mental health systems.

The number of youths who need this help is massive and their needs often complex. The majority are runaways and other homeless youths. The others are young people who come into the formal juvenile justice system, are charged as status offenders or delinquents, and too often end up in institutional settings.

Runaway Youths

Between 1.2 million and 1.5 million children run away from home each year, according to a 1983 national survey by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Precise numbers are hard to obtain because many runaway youths do not come to public attention. While their average age is fifteen, some runaways are as young as ten. Most teenagers who run away return home within a day or two, and almost all do so within six months. But some never return home; increasing numbers have no home to which to return. Runaway youths represent the overwhelming majority of "missing children," a problem receiving much public attention today.

Why do young people run away from home? Evidence suggests that only a very few are seeking adventure. Most are seeking escape from abuse, neglect, or other family problems. A study of adolescents between the ages of twelve and eighteen receiving assistance in Huckleberry House, a runaway shelter in Columbus, Ohio, found that more than three-fourths reported having been subjected to severe maltreatment. A national study of runaway youths revealed that more than a third were running from physical or sexual abuse at home, and 40 percent from other family problems.

The more serious the problems they experience at home, the more likely teens are to run away from home repeatedly and to have no real option of returning. An in-depth study of sixty-two street youths in Denver illustrates this syndrome. Eighty-five percent of these youths had suffered sexual and physical abuse while at home. Two-thirds had spent some time in foster care. Virtually all had had previous experiences with service agencies but reported getting little help. They all reported being victims of crimes once they were on the street, and 70 percent acknowledged involvement in shoplifting, prostitution, or panhandling. For such youths, returning home may not be possible or appropriate, and longer range solutions are needed.

Other problems beset many runaways, including drug use and school failure. More than half of the youths in New York City shelters reported drug use to which others had objected, according to a 1984 study. Thirty percent had used several different drugs.

Many of these young people also have experienced difficulty in school. Seventy-one percent of the boys and 44 percent of the girls in the New York City study reported having been suspended from school before they became runaways. These findings parallel national data that showed that almost half of the runaways in federally funded shelters had not attended school regularly, and one-third were truants or dropouts. More than one-fourth of the runaway shelter programs surveyed by the National Network of Runaway and Youth Services in 1985 reported a serious need for alternative education programs for the youths coming to them for help.

Youths in the Juvenile Justice System

A far smaller group of troubled youths are those who come into contact with the formal juvenile justice system and are charged with status offenses (acts like running away that would not be crimes if committed by adults). A one-day snapshot of this population taken by the federal government in 1983 showed that approximately 9,000 runaway youths and other status offenders (such as those charged with incorrigibility or truancy) were in public or private juvenile correctional facilities; 2,480 of the youths were in institutional care; and 6,550 were in more open, community-based settings. Status offenders represented just more than 10 percent of the 80,000 youths reported detained by the juvenile justice system on that day. The remainder were charged with crimes or adjudicated by courts as delinquent offenders or were awaiting transfer to adult courts.

Despite popular myths about juvenile delinquents, most detained youths have not been charged with violent acts. Fewer than one-fourth of the youths detained in public juvenile facilities in 1985 had committed such acts, according to U.S. Justice Department data. Another one-fourth had committed property offenses, such as burglary and motor vehicle theft. Most of the remainder were charged with probation violations or alcohol, drug, or public order offenses.

The process by which juveniles are charged and detained for delinquent behavior varies from locality to locality and sometimes even from case to case. Too frequently, race is a factor in the way youths are categorized. In *The Incarceration of Minority Youth* (May 1986), Barry Krisberg, Ira Schwartz, and others report that minority youths, who do not account for a substantially disproportionate amount of serious juvenile crime, are nonetheless much more likely than white youths to be arrested, and, once arrested, to be charged with more serious offenses than are white youths who have been involved in comparable levels of delinquent behavior. Justice Department figures corroborate these racial disparities, as well as the fact that minority youths spend a longer time in the system (particularly up to the point of disposition). At its Conference on Minority Crimes and Juvenile Justice in April 1985, a Justice Department official conceded that "minority juveniles are not being offered equal protection."

Discrimination is also evident in the placement of juveniles. Minority youths make up 20 percent of the youth population but more than 50 percent of all juveniles incarcerated in public juvenile detention and correctional facilities. Residents of private youth correctional facilities, on the other hand, are 65 percent white.

A shrinking but still significant number of troubled youths are confined in adult jails. While the count of juveniles in adult jails on the federal survey day in 1983 was only 1,760, the yearly total of those passing through jails and detained in secure lock-ups (temporary holding facilities not counted in the

National Jail Census) is estimated to be more than 100,000. For example, while the 1983 Jail Census reported only sixty-four youths in California jails in its one-day count, the California Youth Authority reported that throughout 1984 a total of more than 11,000 children were held in adult jails and lock-ups for periods in excess of six hours. Many of the youths in adult jails have not even been charged with crimes. Many are at great risk. It has been estimated, for example, that the suicide rate for juveniles held in adult jails is nine times the rate of those held in secure juvenile detention facilities.

Studies show that juvenile delinquents who are incarcerated in institutions—whether juvenile or adult—without intervention efforts may well return to the criminal justice system as adults. As many as 60 percent of the incarcerated juveniles tracked by one study entered custody again as adults.

Like runaway youths, youthful offenders often suffer from major educational deficits and other problems. Such needs are frequently least likely to be met in institutional settings. Juvenile justice officials in Alexandria, Virginia have identified educational problems as contributing factors in the local juvenile crime problem. A court study in that city found that 27.7 percent of court-supervised youths attending the public schools had special educational needs. Fifty percent of the youths on probation were not even enrolled in school. Academically, the youths were frequently several years below the appropriate grade levels. The New York City Department of Juvenile Justice discovered similar deficits in a study of 322 children in school at Spofford Juvenile Center in New York City in early 1985. Though their average age was fifteen, 38 percent of the children read below the fourth grade level.

Federal Programs Have Begun to Make a Difference for Troubled Youths

Major federal initiatives under the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, enacted in 1974, have begun the complex task of addressing the varied needs of troubled youths. The Act covers programs for runaway and homeless youths and for youths charged with status offenses or delinquency. In addition to providing direct help to many young people, it has served as an important catalyst for additional state efforts.

Title III of the law, the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act, currently funds the National Runaway Switchboard, as well as 286 shelter programs for runaways across the country. It also supports research, technical assistance, and training to help public officials and service providers better meet the needs of runaway and homeless youths.

In FY 1985, with partial support from federal funds, approximately 68,000 youths were sheltered by 274 runaway shelters across the country, and an additional 274,000 received assistance on a drop-in basis. In its Annual Report to Congress for FY 1985, the Department of Health and Human Services reported that 53 percent of the youths sheltered were returned to families or guardians and 41 percent to other positive and safe living arrangements. Many of the shelter programs provide a variety of services, including alternative education, health and mental health services, substance abuse interventions, family treatment, and counseling. Further, since the federal law's enactment a number of states, including Florida, New York, Texas, Oklahoma, and West Virginia, have passed laws that provide additional funds to shelters.

Another important component of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act is its mandate for the removal of status offenders from secure

detention facilities. To further this goal, the law fosters the establishment of alternatives to detention for status offenders and provides training for staff in the juvenile justice system. Data show that such initiatives have a positive impact at the state level.

- Nationwide, the number of status offenders in secure facilities declined from 200,000 in 1979 to 25,000 in 1984. State officials credit the Act's help with catalyzing and funding successful state initiatives aimed at deinstitutionalizing status offenders. According to recent testimony provided to Congress, Utah, Michigan, and Massachusetts are among the states that have made statewide commitments to projects that began as federal demonstrations funded under the Act. Utah recently replaced its training schools with an array of small observation and assessment centers and privately operated community-based alternative programs, and two smaller regional secure facilities, all of which emphasize close involvement of families in treatment. Utah officials reported that 75 percent of the youths reside in near proximity to their families and that more than half of their families are involved in treatment. Massachusetts and Michigan also successfully established alternatives to training schools.

A third major focus of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Program has been the removal of juveniles from adult jails. To a large extent, there has been progress.

- The number of youths in adult jails has dropped sharply, from 8,000 prior to the Act's passage to 1,700 today. Three-fifths of the states report declines. Approximately twenty-five states have passed legislation prohibiting such detention.
- The Act has helped fund a National Jail Removal Initiative targeted on rural jurisdictions, resulting in a 55 percent decrease in the number of jailings of juveniles in the twenty-three project sites. Colorado (where about 6,000 juveniles were held in county jails as of 1981) achieved a 66 percent reduction by 1984, in large part by instituting a system of regional detention services.

Despite Progress, Many Troubled Youths Are Not Adequately Served

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act and the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act have enabled states and private providers to demonstrate the effectiveness of community-based programs for runaway youths and juvenile offenders. However, in many states the steps that have been taken are only a beginning. States would lose significant momentum in the process of deinstitutionalization and separation of youthful offenders from adult offenders if the federal programs were ended. Contrary to the Reagan Administration's assertions that the Acts' goals have been met and federal investments on behalf of these youths are no longer needed, the serious needs of many troubled youths continue to go unmet.

Youths with Multiple Problems Are in Special Need of Help

Today's troubled youths—whether they are runaways, the homeless, or youths who have come into contact with the formal juvenile justice system as

status offenders or delinquents—often have multiple needs. This puts an increased burden on states and localities to provide the range of services needed: from sheltering and serving all runaways (many of whom may come from the foster care or other service systems), to providing community-based services to status offenders and delinquent youths, to removing all juveniles from adult jails and lock-ups.

In the midst of all these efforts, initiatives directed at preventing the problems that get our youths in trouble too often are set aside. Statistics show that our states, cities, and counties cannot fully meet the range of complex challenges facing them without additional federal help.

- The system of more than 400 crisis centers for runaway youths in this country (approximately three-fourths of them partially funded by the federal government) is able to serve adequately only an estimated one-fifth to one-fourth of those in need of shelter and other services. As the National Network of Runaway and Youth Services reported in its 1985 survey of more than 300 shelter programs, existing shelters are being asked to care for a growing proportion of multi-problem youths. Almost half of the youths served had suffered prior abuse and neglect, needed specialized treatment, or had been involved with the juvenile justice system, according to these programs.
- Increasing numbers of youths running to shelters are "push-outs" or "throw-away children," for whom family reunification is probably not possible or desirable. A study of New York shelters reported that between one-third and two-thirds of the children felt they had no home to which they could return. These children need a range of supports and help to live on their own, or in small community facilities or foster homes when they leave the shelters.
- Two-thirds of the homeless youths and chronic runaways receiving services from a Denver program had been in foster care. More than half had been confined to detention centers or jails for either running away or misbehaving while in temporary shelter.

Shelters had to turn away more than 3,500 youths in 1985 because existing services could not meet their needs. (Thousands of others were turned away simply because there was no space available.) Still other youths with multiple problems never make it to the shelters.

- A September 1985 report by the Governor's Task Force on Homeless Youth in Illinois indicated that there were as many as 21,000 homeless youths younger than twenty-one in Illinois, only 20 percent of whom had even sought help from youth-serving agencies. More than one-third of the total, they estimated, had been rejected by their parents. They also said there were more than 7,000 pregnant teens and teen mothers without permanent living situations, 3,900 of whom were younger than eighteen.

Community-Based Programs Are Scarce

While far more community-based programs are now available to serve status offenders than was the case in 1974 when the Act passed, similar programs for delinquent youths, especially minority youths, lag far behind. This neglect has high costs for the youths and for society. Data from Utah, which has made significant progress in this area, make this clear. Fully 66 percent of

seriously delinquent youths in that state who were in secure facilities before release were convicted of at least one felony within a year of being paroled. In contrast, 75 percent of the seriously delinquent youths who were diverted from secure confinement were crime-free for at least one year after leaving youth corrections custody.

Alternative community-based placements not only reduce recidivism but save money. The American Justice Institute estimates that placement in a secure juvenile detention facility with full services costs \$61 per day. On the other hand, group home alternatives and in-home detention programs cost an average of approximately \$17 and \$14 per day, respectively.

Greater federal efforts are needed to keep young people out of adult jails and lock-ups. Despite the steep drop in the number of children held in adult jails, too many still are held in police lock-ups, although usually for less than forty-eight hours. Exact data on the number of youths affected are impossible to find because there is no national reporting system for such facilities (believed to number more than 10,000 lock-ups nationwide) and because most state monitoring systems are inadequate. The risks of even short-term incarceration can be great, however. For example, the risk of suicide has been reported to be highest during the first twenty-four hours of incarceration. Of fifteen suicides by adults and juveniles that occurred in jails and lock-ups in Michigan in 1984, more than half occurred during the first six hours of confinement.

Preparation for Independent Living Is Needed

For all groups of troubled youths, the experience of state and local programs shows that only long-term investments in a range of support services can enable them to make a successful transition to adulthood. Some youths will need mental health resources, others require help with basic skills and employment training, and still others need residential alternatives.

Model programs now are demonstrating that comprehensive efforts can get youths back on track. New Connections in Charleston, West Virginia helps "high risk/high need" youths, ages fifteen to twenty-one, with counseling and supportive services, independent living services, and educational and job skills development. Some youths participating in the program receive independent living stipends. Most of the youths work toward obtaining their GEDs and also may receive aid in securing additional educational services. Ozone House in Ann Arbor, Michigan, a federally funded shelter, assists homeless youths ages sixteen to eighteen with development of life skills as well as with finding employment and housing. A monthly housing stipend available for five months in gradually reduced amounts and a loan fund help youths get established in stable homes.

Such programs, however, are serving only a fraction of the youths who need their help. A renewed effort is needed to make this kind of comprehensive program available to more young people.

Prevention Efforts Are Inadequate

The biggest gap of all in addressing these youths' problems probably is in the area of prevention: programs designed to help children avoid ending up in runaway shelters and detention facilities in the first place. Although the 1974 Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act originally was intended to focus on prevention, investments in this area have taken a back seat to states' efforts to comply with the Act's other mandates. In FY 1985, for example, at least ten states allocated no funds at all for prevention activities. Although a

1984 amendment to the Act requires the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention in the Department of Justice to make grants for model programs to prevent juvenile delinquency by bolstering the family, to date no money has been spent on this crucial effort.

The Reagan Administration's Lack of Support Has Undercut Investments in Troubled Youths

Despite the demonstrated need for stepped-up efforts to address the problems of troubled youths, the Reagan Administration has tried to stymie progress in all areas. It has attempted repeatedly to reduce the federal commitment to the Runaway and Homeless Youth and Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention programs. It also has recommended reductions in the Title XX Social Services Block Grant that would hurt programs that help these youths. Finally, it has tried to eliminate the Child and Adolescent Service System Program, which is targeted on improving the mental health services available to children.

After four years of rebuffs from Congress in its efforts to reduce the funding levels for shelters and services for runaway and homeless young people, the Administration requested and got level funding of the program for Fiscal Years 1986 and 1987, at the FY 1984 level of \$23.2 million. This funding standstill, coupled with the inconsistent Administration decision to increase the total number of shelters receiving funding each year, has meant that some existing shelters have received reduced grants and thus have had to curtail services. The \$1 million funding cut in the middle of FY 1986 resulting from the Gramm-Rudman across-the-board reductions exacerbated the problem. The Administration is undercutting needed services further by refusing to spend money allocated by Congress for the transitional independent living program for adolescents in the federal foster care program.

For six years in a row, the Administration also has requested "zero funding" for the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Program, asserting, mistakenly, that the program's goals have been met. While Congress consistently has provided \$70 million for the program, this is only 70 percent of its 1981 funding—and only 56 percent of the 1981 level in inflation-adjusted dollars.

During 1986, the Administration stepped up its efforts to eliminate federal support for juvenile justice programs. Although Congress rebuffed its attempts to first freeze and then formally rescind Juvenile Justice Act funds, the resulting delay in funding, coupled with the FY 1986 Gramm-Rudman reductions, disrupted the states' operation of these programs.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1988

Ignoring the need for increased federal commitment to help states and localities serve troubled children and adolescents, President Reagan's FY 1988 budget once again proposes to reduce these crucial federal investments. The Administration again has rejected the pleas of congressional leaders from both parties, state and local agency officials, juvenile court judges, program providers, youth advocates, and the youths themselves:

- For the seventh year in a row, the \$70 million Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Program is recommended for elimination. In

contrast, the Justice Department recommends an increase of \$200 million for prison expansion, modernization, and repair projects. If the same amount were invested in preventive programs to get youthful offenders back on track, future reductions rather than expansions in prison facilities might well become possible.

- The \$45 million independent living program (enacted in 1986 to assist older youths in foster care become self-sufficient when they leave care) also is proposed for elimination in both FY 1987 and FY 1988. Without support, these youths too frequently end up in homeless shelters or become the responsibility of other public systems.
- The future of the Runaway and Homeless Youth Program is uncertain. Instead of requesting specific amounts for this and other programs serving at-risk children and their families, the Administration proposes a generic appropriation of \$2.2 billion for FY 1988 for twenty-six Office of Human Development Services programs that serve a range of populations in a variety of different ways. The Administration asks that it be allowed to set its own funding priorities among the twenty-six programs. The \$2.2 billion total requested for FY 1988, however, is already \$69 million below the total amounts appropriated for these same programs in FY 1987. The total funding available would be stretched further because the Administration would give a \$20 million increase to Head Start, one of the twenty-six programs. At best, it is unlikely that federal shelters will receive the increases they need to serve more teens or to better meet their increasingly complex needs.
- The plight of runaway and homeless youths and others in the juvenile justice system will be exacerbated by the Administration's request to fund two programs—the Title XX Social Services Block Grant and the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Block Grant program—at FY 1987 levels. Both of these programs, which were cut severely in 1982 and have yet to be restored even to their 1981 funding levels, help state and local programs address the special service needs of troubled youths. Another program, the Title IV-B Child Welfare Services Program, which provides funds for services to prevent youths from entering foster care unnecessarily and to encourage return home for children in care, is jeopardized by a proposal to reprogram 10 percent of its funding for other purposes in FY 1987. Also unaided by the budget proposal are successful efforts under the Child and Adolescent Service System Program (CASSP) to coordinate services for youths with emotional problems who are in the juvenile justice, mental health, and child welfare systems. Although the Administration recommends a \$5 million increase in the Community Support Program, of which CASSP is a part, the additional funds are proposed to be targeted for the homeless mentally ill rather than for expansion of CASSP.

CDF Recommendations

The first step in addressing the problems of troubled youths is establishing comprehensive prevention efforts. Many of the troubled children and adolescents who run away or end up in the juvenile justice system begin life in poor families, and often receive inadequate health care, shelter, food, and education. Some have unmet needs for services in such areas as special

education or mental health. Still others are victims of abuse or neglect who need professional help to address the family crisis precipitating the abuse and to cope with the resulting emotional trauma.

Investments in basic income supports and adequate health care and child care for poor families can put them on surer footing, enabling them to meet better all the needs of their children. Remedial education and drop-out prevention programs as well as more responsive basic education programs for disadvantaged children can give youths both the academic competence and the enhanced self-confidence and self-esteem they need to get on track. Finally, strengthened family support services can improve families' ability to cope with crises if they do occur. They also can offer children who have been abused and other youths at risk an alternative to seeking relief by running away or engaging in various acting-out behaviors.

For those youths who do run away or get into trouble, a comprehensive array of services to address their special physical, emotional, and social needs must be in place. This continuum should include a range of non-residential and residential programs that can be tailored to the needs of an individual child. Services should be delivered within the child's home and community whenever possible and always within the least restrictive setting appropriate to the child's needs. Where possible, families should be involved in these programs.

Quality services must be available for all young people, regardless of their racial or ethnic background or ability to pay. Care must be taken to ensure that children are not dumped inappropriately in institutions that are ill-equipped to meet their needs. As children's needs change, the system must be flexible enough to allow them to move from one service or program to another. For example, while secure residential care should be available for the small number of youths for whom it may be necessary, their ability to shift to a community-based program should be reevaluated frequently. Individualized case plans and periodic reviews can help ensure that appropriate services are being provided at all times. Multi-problem youths who end up in the juvenile justice system, often because of past failures of the education, child welfare, or mental health systems, present special challenges for improved services and interagency coordination.

Further, troubled adolescents without supportive families who face life alone after leaving the community-based program, detention facility, or runaway shelter must be provided special help in their transition to independent living.

The public policy choice is not whether to invest on behalf of troubled children and adolescents, but when and how. If their needs are not addressed as children or adolescents, many of them are likely to become the financial responsibility of the adult mental health or criminal justice systems.

Over the next five years a concerted effort must be made to triple federal investments on behalf of the range of programs for troubled children and their families. To help more troubled youths, we must make an increased investment in the programs funded under the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act and the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act. The federal independent living initiative for older youths in foster care who need help to prepare to live on their own also must be implemented immediately, and funds distributed to eligible states.

To prevent more of our children from becoming runaways or troubled youths in the first place, we must help children who are abused, neglected, or emotionally disturbed by increasing funding for the Social Services Block Grant, the Child Welfare Services Program, the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Program, and the Child and Adolescent Service System Program.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

**Runaway Youths and Others in the Juvenile Justice System:
Funding and Budget Requests, FY1981-FY1988**
(in millions of dollars)

	Runaway Youths	Juvenile Delinquency Prevention
FY1981 actual	\$11.0	\$100.0
FY1982 proposed	— ¹	0.0
FY1982 actual	10.5	70.0
FY1983 proposed	6.6	0.0
FY1983 actual	21.5	73.0
FY1984 proposed	10.5	0.0
FY1984 actual	23.2	70.5
FY1985 proposed	10.5	0.0
FY1985 actual	23.2	70.2
FY1986 proposed	23.2	0.0
FY1986 actual	23.2	70.2
After Gramm-Rudman	22.2	67.3 ²
FY1987 proposed	23.2	0.0 ²
FY1987 actual	23.2	70.3
FY1988 proposed	— ³	0.0

¹Proposed to consolidate in a \$3.8 billion Social Services Block Grant for FY1982; this is 25 percent below the FY1981 funding level for the programs proposed to be included in the block grant.

²Also proposed rescission of \$60.8 million from the post-Gramm-Rudman FY1986 level.

³No specific amount is requested for FY1988. Rather, the program is one of 26 Office of Human Development Services programs for which a "generic appropriation" of \$2.2 billion is requested for FY1988. The \$2.2 billion level is \$69 million below the combined FY1987 appropriation levels for the 26 programs and includes a \$20 million increase for Head Start.

14. CHILD CARE

Child care—available, affordable, quality care—is of vital importance to a growing number of American families. Due to increases in the number of single-parent families and of two-parent families in which both adults work, each year child care becomes a more critical issue for parents, children, our society, and the economy. Today, an underfunded, piecemeal, and often unresponsive system is failing parents—whether they are working full time, part time, or are in school or employment training—as well as children. Our child care system is particularly inadequate for low-income families, who often need help to remain or become self-sufficient.

A growing majority of families need child care. More than half of the women with children younger than three work, as does an even higher percentage of women with preschool and school-age children. Because most work full time, children continue to need child care after entering preschool or elementary school.

In the next decade, the need of American families for safe and supportive child care will continue its sharp ascent. For example, the number of children younger than six needing care will grow more than 50 percent.

	1979	1985	1995
Children under age six with mothers in the labor force (in millions)	7.2	9.6	14.6

According to a recent analysis by Sandra Hoffreth and Deborah Phillips, which will appear in a forthcoming issue of *The Journal of Marriage and the Family*, if current trends continue by 1995 more than three-quarters of all school-age children and two-thirds of preschool children will have mothers in the labor force.

For many families, child care is key to the parents' ability to earn enough

income to meet basic expenses. In low-income families, women must have child care to help earn the income that keeps the family out of poverty. Even for slightly more well-off families (including the 50 percent of working women whose husbands earn less than \$20,000 a year), child care is necessary to maintain the basis of a middle-class existence.

Good Child Care Helps Families Be Productive and Children Develop to Their Full Potential

For low-income families, whether headed by a single parent or by two parents, child care is a critical first step toward self-sufficiency. It enables parents to work, participate in employment training programs, or attend school. A large number of families now need this help. In 1983, 2.5 million children, or more than one-sixth of all poor children, were poor although they had a parent who worked full time. Millions of other poor children need child care when their parents work part time.

The link between the availability of affordable child care and low-income parents' ability to work or attend training programs is well documented.

- A recent Washington State study by the National Social Science and Law Center in Washington, D. C. identified child care problems as a key barrier to employment faced by single mothers receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) benefits. The large majority of the women surveyed (almost 90 percent) had children younger than twelve, and more than half had children younger than six. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents cited their difficulty with child care responsibilities as a primary problem in seeking, getting, and holding a job. A majority had to rely upon friends and relatives to meet their child care needs. More than one-fourth indicated dissatisfaction with their current child care arrangements, primarily because of limited availability.
- In 1983, more than 1,000 Chittenden County, Vermont parents, primarily employed mothers, were surveyed about child care. One of the questions asked was: "Have you ever turned down a job offer or left a job because you couldn't make satisfactory child care arrangements?" More than one parent out of four said yes; among a subgroup of female single parents, 35 percent said yes. In a separate but comparable survey of fifty-two unemployed parents in Burlington, Vermont, most of whom were single-parent heads of AFDC households, 44 percent replied affirmatively.

A public investment in child care can save money by preventing the much larger costs associated with unemployment and welfare dependency. The Colorado Department of Social Services has estimated that providing child care assistance to low-income working families costs only 38 percent of what it would cost to provide these same families with AFDC and Medicaid benefits if they were unemployed. A study by Washington State found that parents who received child care while in training were less reliant on AFDC over a five-year period than a control group whose members did not receive assistance in meeting their child care costs.

Child care help can enable parents not only to work but to increase their earnings. Among needy families in a Kansas City, Missouri child care program who were eligible for assistance from the Title XX Social Services Block Grant (the federal child care subsidy program), 77 percent of the parents reported an

income boost of approximately \$2,000. The typical parent surveyed was a single, divorced, or separated head of household, twenty-six years of age or older, and employed full time as a non-professional worker. The typical child was two or three years old. The parents credited the child care services with helping them increase their incomes through higher paying jobs, promotions, and improved attendance, performance, and concentration on the job.

A number of studies have identified child care as a crucial factor in improving the productivity of working parents. "Investing in Child Care," a report prepared by Ellen Galinsky for AT&T, reviewed these reports:

- Two studies at major corporations found that the instability and poor quality of child care was one of the most significant predictors of ill health and stress for men and women with children.
- A study of 5,000 workers at five corporations in the Midwest found that 58 percent of the women workers and 33 percent of the men with young children felt their child care concerns affected their time at work in unproductive ways.

Quality child care is especially about caring for children, and is crucial to assuring their health and well-being and the full development of their potential. Low-income children, in particular, can benefit from a comprehensive, high quality child care experience to overcome early disadvantages and improve their chances of success in school and as working adults and parents. A multitude of studies have identified what children need in child care. Small group size and good staff-to-child ratios are vitally important, as they enhance a caregiver's ability to respond to each child individually. Continuity of care is essential, because children suffer when they must leave a caregiver with whom they have developed a close relationship. Children need caregivers who can spend time getting to know them and their families, who have specialized training in child development, and who understand that a parent's involvement is an essential component of good child care. Children thrive in a healthy and safe physical setting, with a mix of age-appropriate activities.

Navigating the Maze: Trying To Find and Pay for Quality Child Care

Despite the critical importance of child care to America's families, it is extremely difficult—especially for low-income families—to find decent care. Families face three major hurdles: finding care that meets their work schedules, finding quality care, and finding ways to pay for care.

Many parents must embark on this search when their children are still small infants. In 1986, almost half of mothers of children younger than one were in the labor force. Unlike virtually all other industrialized nations, the United States does not have a parental leave policy guaranteeing parents job security when they return to work after childbirth and providing some replacement of lost wages for a short leave. This means that parents of infants as young as two weeks must place their infants in child care settings and return to work to keep their jobs and put food on the table.

Whatever the age of their children, parents must navigate a patchwork system to locate care that matches their schedules and budgets and their children's age level. Some families, such as those in Boston, Massachusetts or Madison, Wisconsin, are fortunate in being able to turn to strong "resource and referral" programs that help them find appropriate child care and tell them

what constitutes a safe and supportive child care situation. The vast majority of families, however, have no help in their search except community bulletin boards, neighbors, or the telephone book's yellow pages.

Just looking for child care is a cumbersome, frustrating, and often never-ending experience. More than half of 1,500 working parents polled by Child Care Systems, a Pennsylvania information and referral program, reported changing their child care arrangements at least once during a twelve-month period, and 14 percent had to make three or more changes.

Families with different needs face different dilemmas. Infants often are cared for in smaller settings, at home or by a family day care provider, because the scarcity of center-based infant care and its often prohibitively high cost put it out of reach of most families. For three- and four-year-olds, an increasing number of parents, especially those who are more well-off, now seek a preschool experience or a similar developmental opportunity in a child care center—but this option can be costly. Families with older, school-age children face their own particular bind. The shortage of before- and after-school programs results in the growing "latchkey" phenomenon: millions of young children, some as young as four years old, returning home to fend for themselves each day at three o'clock or earlier.

Regardless of the age of the child, the available child care often does not accommodate the working schedules of parents. Women who work are, for the most part, employed in full-time jobs: 71 percent of working mothers with children younger than eighteen work full time, as do 66 percent with children younger than three. Yet child care arrangements rarely fit a full-day schedule. Many parents must patch together different child care arrangements, hoping that children can be moved smoothly from one caregiver to the next. A study of New York City care found that more than half of the families surveyed had to make multiple arrangements for child care, and about 20 percent of the parents used more than two caregivers during the day.

Child Care Providers' Low Wages Threaten the Quality of Care

Whatever a family's schedule, stable, reliable care for its children is difficult to find. One major reason is the terribly low wages earned by most child care workers. In 1984, 90 percent of private household child care workers and 58 percent of all other child care workers earned less than poverty-level wages. Despite their higher levels of education, child care providers are paid less per hour than animal caretakers, bartenders, or parking lot and amusement park attendants, according to the 1980 census. Low salaries hurt the quality of child care available in two main ways.

First, low salaries make it increasingly difficult to attract caregivers with the training that enables them to care best for young children. The National Day Care Study, commissioned by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1976, found that children in child care centers—especially low-income children—make the greatest test score gains when they are with caregivers who have participated in a specialized education and training program. But child care administrators point out that the wages offered today make such staffing virtually impossible to maintain. A study of New York day care worker salaries and benefits by Caroline Zinsser, published by the Center for Public Advocacy Research, chronicles the frustrations of child care directors and caregivers:

"The Catch-22 is that we must either lower our standards in terms of the employees we hire or raise salaries to attract and

retain staff. Lowering standards directly affects the quality of child care and puts children at risk. Raising salaries raises tuition beyond what parents can afford to pay without subsidization."

Second, low salaries contribute heavily to the extremely high rate of turnover among child care professionals—36 percent a year in child care centers and 67 percent a year in family day care homes. Even in a single classroom in a child care center, children often are forced to adjust to several new caregivers in the course of a year. Given the importance of a stable caregiver relationship, this is very detrimental to the children. The study of New York day care workers' salaries and benefits quotes center directors who must cope with this treadmill:

- "We are able to retain staff who have minimal education only. Certified and college-educated staff will usually leave in a year or two for better-paying positions."
- "A little over a year ago, I had a teacher position open. In approximately two months I went through four different teachers who all found higher-paying jobs within a couple of weeks after starting with us. It is almost impossible to recruit and keep highly qualified personnel at the low wages we are equipped to offer."

The Costs of Child Care Are Prohibitive for Many Families

Even for families that are able to find decent child care, those with low and moderate incomes face a final, often impassable barrier: prohibitively high costs. As the ranks of families in which both parents work or the only parent works have grown, but wages for many parents have stagnated or fallen, child care has become both a more widespread necessity and a less affordable one.

In millions of families, two incomes are necessary just to keep above the poverty level. It takes one and a half minimum wage jobs to keep a family of three just slightly above the poverty line. One-fourth of working wives have husbands earning less than \$10,000 a year. And in millions of single-parent families the parent's job, even if full-time, is not enough or only barely enough to keep the family out of poverty.

Young parents have a particularly hard time earning enough income to meet their needs, including child care. Child care costs for infants and preschoolers are much higher than for school-age children. But young parents beginning their working lives have the lowest wages of all Americans, and recently have seen their relative earnings sink significantly in comparison with those of other age groups. In 1986 the median weekly earnings of all American men between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four working full-time was \$237, 51 percent of the full-time wages of older male workers. Nineteen years earlier such wages for young men were 74 percent of older workers' earnings. Full-time working young women's wages have dropped similarly as a proportion of older women's wages, from 94 percent in 1967 to 69 percent in 1986. Young single parents struggling to support a family face particularly high poverty rates.

Poor and near-poor families cannot bear child care costs without help. The typical cost of full-time child care is about \$3,000 a year for one child, or one-third of the poverty-level income for a family of three. With two children in care a family of four with poverty-level wages would have to spend more than half of its income on child care—an expenditure that would mean going without housing, food, or other necessities of survival.

	<i>All female-headed families</i>	<i>Female-headed families: head under 25</i>	<i>Female-headed families: head between 25 and 34</i>
1985 Poverty Rate:	34.0%	74.2%	50.6%

There Is Far Too Little Government Assistance to Help Low-Income Families Pay for Child Care

Despite the complex child care problems faced by an increasing number of American families, the federal government thus far has refused to take a leadership role in meeting these needs. Arguing that the responsibility for child care rests with the states, the private sector, and individual parents, the current Administration in particular has done little to improve the quality, availability, or affordability of child care. The result has been particularly damaging to the poor: budget cuts and inflation have reduced the real value of the Title XX federal funding stream for child care for low-income families to *half* the size of a decade ago. And the Administration has abandoned any effort to establish standards for programs receiving federal funds.

During the 1980s, the tax system's dependent care tax credit has grown to be the largest federal effort to help families pay for child care. The credit is a decent initiative but does not help the poor. It allows a family to deduct a portion of its annual child care expenses (up to a maximum expense of \$2,400 for one child and \$4,800 for two or more children) from its federal income taxes. The lower a family's income, the larger the portion of its child care expense that can be deducted.

Examples of the Federal Dependent Care Credit at Different Income Levels

<i>Family Income</i>	<i>Percent of Child Care Expenses That Can Be Taken as Credit</i>	<i>Maximum Credit for One Child (assuming \$2,400 spent for child care)</i>
\$0-10,000	30%	\$720
\$14,000-16,000	27%	\$648
\$20,000-22,000	24%	\$576
\$28,000 and above	20%	\$480

For families that are well-off enough to have a tax liability, the dependent care credit functions fairly. It provides proportionately more help to

moderate-income families than it does to the more well-to-do. In 1984, the credit was used by more than 7.5 million families at a cost to the federal treasury of slightly more than \$2.6 billion (up about 30 percent from the prior year). Slightly less than half the amount went to families earning less than \$25,000 that year.

For almost all families living in or near poverty, however, this credit system is of no practical use. First, they cannot afford to make substantial out-of-pocket payments for child care costs, even if they later could get 30 percent of those costs taken off their tax bill. Second, their federal income tax liabilities—particularly after the new tax reform law takes full effect in 1988—almost always will be so low to begin with (zero for almost all families in poverty) that having a credit to subtract provides no relief.

A second tax-related mechanism to subsidize child care costs, though probably the fastest growing form of federal child care help, does not help poor or even moderate-income families. Usually referred to as a flexible benefit plan, it allows employees, with an employer's permission, to reduce their taxable incomes by the amount of dependent care expenses they expect to incur during the year up to a total of \$5,000. The money is put in a special untaxed account out of which the employee is reimbursed for child care expenses, thus saving the family the taxes that otherwise would have been levied on wages spent for this purpose.

Because of the structure of federal tax law, this mechanism rarely would help a family that makes less than \$20,000 a year. Furthermore, it allows families in higher tax brackets to receive higher rates of subsidy and to net amounts that are often significantly greater than the benefits provided by any other federal child care program.

Neither of these tax-related federal programs helps poor families get the child care they need to enter and stay in the job market. These families almost always need direct assistance (funds paid directly to them or their child care providers) to meet their child care costs. But while federal tax benefits have grown markedly in the past decade, direct federal aid has plummeted.

The vast majority of direct federal assistance for child care comes through the Title XX Social Services Block Grant, a broad program providing states with federal funds to meet a wide range of social service needs. Although the states collectively spend approximately 18 percent of the Title XX monies for child care, their individual commitments vary widely.

The Title XX program, though never adequate, has suffered reductions while the need for child care assistance among poor families has grown. In 1981, the President and Congress reduced federal funds for Title XX for 1982 by 20 percent, including a loss of \$75 million earmarked for training of child care and other service providers and administrators. Subsequent minor boosts in the Title XX appropriation have failed to restore the 1982 cut. As a result, Title XX funding is now one-half (in real terms) of what it was a decade ago.

At the same time that Title XX spending effectively has been halved, the number of children living in poverty even though their parents are working has increased substantially.

Even before the 1982 cuts, Title XX child care programs only served 472,000 of the 3.4 million children younger than six living in poverty in 1981. By 1984, there were 4.9 million poor children in that age group, and less money to serve them. In response to the federal cuts, twenty-three states now offer Title XX child care to even fewer youngsters than in 1981. Only fifteen states are serving more children.

While some individual states have used some of their own funds to

Title XX Appropriation and Amount of Appropriation After Adjusting for Inflation (in billions of dollars)						
	FY 77	FY 81	FY 82	FY 85	FY 86	FY 87
Title XX Funding	\$2.796	\$2.991	\$2.400	\$2.725	\$2.700	\$2.700
Title XX Funding Adjusted for Inflation (1981 dollars)	\$4.165	\$2.991	\$2.234	\$2.271	\$2.164	\$2.113 (estimate)

supplement Title XX funding, by and large the states have not closed the gap created by federal cutbacks.

- States' overall Title XX Social Services Block Grant expenditures for child care in FY 1986 (when inflation is factored in) are approximately 12 percent less than in 1981. Twenty-nine states were spending less money for child care services funded through the Title XX Social Services Block Grant in 1986 than in 1981.
- Between FY 1985 and FY 1986, eleven states again reduced the number of children served by their Title XX-funded child care programs—almost twice the number of states that reduced the number of children served between FY 1984 and FY 1985.

Other, smaller federal programs that help poor families get the child care assistance they need are flawed or extremely limited in their financing or scope. Many also have suffered cuts.

A number of states assist working mothers on AFDC through a child care "disregard." This means that a family can deduct the amount it has paid to a child care provider from its income when AFDC benefits are computed. But the maximum deduction since 1981 is \$160 per month per child, regardless of the actual cost of decent care. And most poor families cannot afford to make large out-of-pocket expenditures that force them to short-change their immediate needs for heat, food, and clothing in the hope of future and often partial reimbursement.

A range of other federal programs that have helped bolster child care services have suffered funding cuts since 1981. The Child Care Food Program (CCFP) gives funds to child care centers and family day care homes to help them serve nutritious meals to children. Because licensing is a requirement for participation in CCFP, the program has played a key role in encouraging family day care providers to become licensed or registered, thereby improving the quality of family day care. Until FY 1982, programs could use federal funds to provide three meals and two snacks per day—an important feature because small children tend to eat more frequently but not as much at one sitting. Federal budget cuts have limited the help to two meals and one snack, regardless of how many hours children are in care.

New federal child care spending initiatives approved by Congress in the past two years are well-intentioned but so underfunded they are marginal in impact. Congress has authorized a \$1.5 million scholarship fund to help caregivers earn a Child Development Associate (CDA) credential by improving

their skills. It also authorized funds to provide child care for children in crisis nurseries and those needing respite care, created a new \$10 million program to help low-income college students defray child care costs (but has not yet appropriated any funds), and authorized \$20 million (but only appropriated \$5 million) to help communities start school-age child care and resource and referral programs. This latter law is limited not only in its level of funding but in its scope: communities may use funds only to start or expand programs—not to help low-income families meet their day-to-day child care costs in such programs.

Recognizing the need to supplement Title XX, a number of states recently have created new and separate child care programs funded entirely through state, or state and local, dollars. In general, they have designed these separate initiatives to meet the child care needs of particular groups (such as teen parents), or to coordinate existing resources and expand the supply of child care.

But progress at the state level has been uneven, depending more on the health of each state's economy than on its child care needs. States with stronger economies (such as Massachusetts and New York) are taking positive steps to address these needs, while states with weaker economies (such as Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana) not only have failed to move forward but have reduced their commitments to child care.

Even in states that have made progress, the new efforts are often far too small or too fragmented to create a sensible pattern of services for poor working families, much less working families in general. One example is state efforts to develop preschool programs for four-year-olds. While the new preschool initiatives ostensibly seek to meet the needs of working parents, most of the thirteen state-funded preschool programs created in the past three years do not help parents with full-time jobs because they are funded only for part-day operation.

In another arena—efforts to start or expand before- or after-school child care programs for school-age children—new state programs do accommodate the schedules of working parents. But most do not help poor parents defray the costs, which can range from \$15 to \$40 a week. Of eleven states with school-age programs, California and Indiana alone actually allocate funds for ongoing subsidies to help low-income families. Failing to assist low-income families will only reinforce the current two-tier system for school-age children: care for those whose families can pay, and latchkeys for poor children who have the option of returning to empty houses or hanging out on unsupervised playgrounds.

Caught between cutbacks in federal assistance and rising demand for child care help, states are making painful and ultimately self-defeating choices between the numbers of children served, the quality of care, and the level of caregivers' salaries.

- Between FY 1986 and 1987, Georgia reduced its child care budget by almost \$8 million, or 38 percent, while only reducing the number of children in care by 1.7 percent. The necessary savings will be achieved through a 10 percent reduction in providers' salaries and through decreasing the minimum staff-to-child ratio.
- California's decision to hold its FY 1987 child care increase to only 1 percent forced two state-subsidized child care centers serving seventy-five low-income children in Concord, California to close because they could not cover their costs. The county already had 300 children on the waiting list for subsidized care.

- States also use arbitrary and harsh eligibility rules for child care assistance in order to limit costs. These can penalize many poor parents for even modest gains in employment or wages. Several states, including Louisiana, do not use a sliding fee scale. To keep their incomes low enough to continue to qualify for child care assistance, some parents are forced to refuse even modest wage increases, longer work hours, or a better job. Nebraska denies any child care assistance to families earning more than 48 percent of the state median income, or \$9,096 for a family of three.
- Although most families using Title XX child care are headed by single women, short-sighted rules in many states and counties deny child care to mothers enrolled in school or training programs, foreclosing their opportunity to gain the skills necessary to move out of poverty.

The combined impact of curtailed federal and inadequate state child care assistance to poor families is predictable: long waiting lists and millions of unserved children.

- Fewer than 10 percent of the 1.1 million eligible California children who are fourteen or younger can be served at the state's current level of child care funding.
- Of the 137,000 Georgia children who have working mothers, 76,000 would be eligible under the state's rules for Title XX-funded child care. Of these, only 8,000 children are served.
- Louisiana recently cut its day care budget by 11 percent, or \$1.2 million. It projects an additional cut of 20 percent for 1987-1988. Prior to the cut, the state could serve approximately 4,000 children. There are more than 9,000 families on the waiting list for child care.
- In 1984, only 20,000 of the 300,000 Pennsylvania children in need of subsidized care received it.
- At least one-sixth of the children affected by funding cuts subsequently are left alone at home and unsupervised, according to a survey of families in New York State in 1982. More detailed analysis at the local level (Westchester County) concluded that the loss of day care increased the risk of maltreatment or neglect for some children. Other parents chose to leave work altogether and go on welfare rather than neglect their children. Many struggled to pay child care center fees without help, often unsuccessfully. Others placed children in the care of older siblings. Still others were forced to choose babysitting arrangements that did not provide their children with proper nutrition, stimulation, and care. For some children, arrangements were sporadic, resulting in harmful shifting from one caretaker to another.

Sometimes the shortage of subsidized child care ends in unspeakable tragedy.

Linda Grant's two small children, Anthony (age three) and Maurice (age four) died in Dade County, Florida, on November 6, 1986, in an accident that could have been averted had the family had access to child care help. Although Ms. Grant worked to support her family, their income was so low that she could not afford to pay for child care for the two children. Because she qualified for government help, she put her children on Florida's

waiting list for child care assistance—a list which then included 22,000 other names.

While she waited for help, Ms. Grant relied on friends and relatives to care for the children. But some days these arrangements fell through and the boys were left alone. On one such day, November 6, Maurice and Anthony climbed into the clothes dryer to look at a magazine in a seemingly cozy place, closed the door, and tumbled and burned to death.

After their deaths, the *Miami Herald* observed that "Anthony and Maurice might be alive today if affordable care had been available." The wait for subsidized day care is eighteen to twenty-four months because local, state, and federal governments have been unwilling to provide the funds to meet the demand for child care help to low-income families. The *Miami News* wrote, "There are hundreds, maybe thousands more tragedies waiting to happen in Dade County alone, in every home where young children are left to fend for themselves . . . They're not latchkey kids, they're lockup kids, locked inside for the day by parents who can't afford day care, can't afford not to work and can't get government assistance . . ." Dade County Juvenile Court Judge William Gladstone said, "People who don't want to fund these programs are child abusers."

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1988

The Administration proposes to dilute already limited federal support for child care. It has asked Congress for cutbacks in almost every program that provides help to parents in meeting their child care needs or improves access to or the quality of child care. The President's proposals would exacerbate the child care crisis in this country by:

- Failing to increase funding for the Title XX Social Services Block Grant, the largest direct source of federal support for child care. Funding for Title XX has not been increased since FY 1984, when a modest \$250 million increase in appropriations still left the program below its 1981 funding level, even in uninflated dollars.
- Cutting the Child Care Food Program (CCFP) by approximately \$200 million. The Administration would eliminate meal subsidies to children from families earning more than 185 percent of the poverty level. This proposal, which the Administration has made before, would require a means test for children in family day care homes before the homes could obtain CCFP funds for the eligible children. This means test would have a negative impact far beyond the loss of the meal subsidies themselves. Providers of family day care, the largest source of child care in the country, become licensed or registered with state regulatory agencies in order to participate in CCFP. They then receive valuable support, including training and two to three monitoring visits a year, through umbrella sponsors. The imposition of a means test and the resulting administrative burden will hurt the overall quality of care by causing many of these providers to drop out of CCFP and leave any licensing or regulatory system. The proposed reduction also would affect child care centers, making it difficult for those serving low- and moderate-income children to continue offering nutritious meals to those who need them most.

- Changing the status of two new small child care programs—one to provide scholarships to caregivers seeking to improve their skills by earning a Child Development Associate credential, and another to help states and communities start school-age child care and resource and referral programs—by including them in a new appropriation that would combine the budgets of twenty-six human services programs within the Department of Health and Human Services' Human Development Services Office. This would give Health and Human Services (rather than Congress) the flexibility to determine spending levels for each program. Since the combined funding for these programs would be \$69 million less than amounts appropriated in FY 1987, the already inadequate new child care programs are likely to receive so little funding as to be rendered almost totally ineffective.
- Failing to request funding for the \$10 million program that Congress authorized beginning in 1986 in the Higher Education Amendments to provide child care services to low-income college and graduate students.
- Failing to recommend funding to begin a new program, authorized in FY 1987, that would provide assistance for two groups of families: those needing child care for handicapped children and families under stress whose children may be abused and neglected.
- Phasing out the Work Incentive Program (WIN), which provides funds to states for child care, along with other work and training activities, for AFDC recipients. The Administration would substitute a program that would require recipients with young children to participate in education or work-related programs. Although these parents theoretically would be eligible for child care services, the Administration has not earmarked any funds for child care.

CDF Recommendations

The federal, state, and local governments must take the initiative to build a child care system that works. Only a government commitment to child care can ensure that low-income parents can work and that their young children can get the supportive child care they need and are protected from the risks of being left to care for themselves or spending their days in unsafe or unstimulating out-of-home care.

As a first step in expanding the federal resources targeted to child care, Congress should increase funds for the Title XX Social Services Block Grant from \$2.7 billion to \$3.3 billion for FY 1988. It also should ensure that any employment and training initiatives for welfare recipients include funds to help parents afford quality child care arrangements. The next step should be the passage of a significant new federal funding stream dedicated to child care.

Funding should be available to meet the child care needs of all age groups: infants and preschool and school-age children. This requires new efforts to strengthen family day care programs and child care centers as well as new collaboration between schools and the child care community.

New federal funds should provide child care assistance to families earning up to their state's median income. A rising co-payment is a reasonable requirement as families' incomes increase toward the state median (with no co-payment for poor families). But the payment mechanism must encourage continuity of care for young children, not forcing families to change their child care arrangements because of modest wage increases.

Attention must be paid to accessibility and quality as well as affordability. States should use federal and state dollars to subsidize the operating costs of resource and referral (R&R) programs. With this new support, more R&R programs can move beyond the tasks of helping families find child care and keeping track of the supply of and demand for care, to playing a more active role in expanding the supply of family day care providers and offering other services such as training to the child care community. States also should establish grant and loan programs to develop new child care facilities or renovate and expand existing ones.

The federal government should encourage improved quality in child care programs by providing strong incentives to states to improve their licensing standards in areas such as group size, staff-to-child ratios, health and nutrition standards, parent involvement, and caregiver training requirements. The federal government must not merely encourage states to improve licensing laws, but must allocate the funds to help states make sure that standards are met. States need greater numbers of trained staff to implement licensing improvements and monitor programs. Further, new federal funds must be targeted on both initial and ongoing training programs and exploring strategies for increasing caregivers' wages—key factors in improving the quality of child care.

In using new and existing resources, state and local governments should look at the varied needs for child care and attempt to address them with a cohesive, coordinated effort that uses unified standards of availability, quality, and affordability. Preschool initiatives and child care programs that allow AFDC parents to work are part of an overall child care policy and should meet across-the-board standards for a high-quality child development experience. Preschool programs should be tailored to accommodate the hours of working parents, and should not automatically be considered a part-day resource to be supplemented by child care elsewhere.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Child Care: Funding and Budget Requests, FY1981-FY1988
(in millions of dollars)

	Social Services Block Grant/ Title XX	Child Care Food Program
FY1981 actual	\$2,991.8	\$295.0
FY1982 proposed	— ¹	242.8
FY1982 actual	2,460.0	270.5
FY1983 proposed	1,974.0	— ²
FY1983 actual	2,456.0	335.2
FY1984 proposed	2,560.0	— ²
FY1984 actual	2,700.0	378.1
FY1985 proposed	2,700.0	— ²
FY1985 actual	2,725.0	434.9
FY1986 proposed	2,700.0	322.3
FY1986 actual	2,700.0	475.8
After Gramm-Rudman	2,583.9	475.8
FY1987 proposed	2,700.0	338.1
FY1987 actual	2,700.0	537.2
FY1988 proposed	2,700.0	373.6

¹A large number of programs were proposed for inclusion in the Social Services Block Grant; total funding for the block grant would have been cut by 25 percent.

²Proposed to repeal, include in block grant; funding would have been cut by 27 percent in FY1983, by 30 percent in FY1984, and by 4 percent in FY1985.

15. HEAD START

During the first four or five years of life, a child is growing and developing at an extraordinarily rapid pace. This is the period of time during which a youngster is most responsive to his or her environment. Exposure during these years to a wide variety of activities and to substantial stimulation and interaction with other children and adults can help lay a solid foundation for a child's learning capability in later years. Either as part of a child care program or as a separate part-day experience, a well-structured comprehensive early childhood development program can help a child build the confidence and skills that translate into improved learning in elementary school and beyond.

Gaining a firm grasp of basic skills, a process that should begin in the early years, can help improve a child's ability later to stay at grade level, to avoid dropping out of high school, and to avoid the pitfalls of adolescent parenthood. Recent analyses of data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Young Americans, completed by Dr. Andrew Sum of the Center for Labor Market Studies at Northeastern University, suggest that poverty and below-average basic skills are the key factors that put teens at risk of dropping out and of early parenthood.

Business and government leaders agree that an early childhood development program plays a key role in getting children off to a strong start in life. For example, the Research and Policy Committee of the business-led Committee for Economic Development strongly supports a public investment in such programs for low-income children, and finds the benefits far outweigh the costs. According to the National Governors' Association's 1986 report, *Time for Results: The Governors' 1991 Report on Education*, quality early childhood programs "reduce the high school dropout rate, increase the college attendance rate, increase employment, and reduce the welfare and crime rate after high school."

Recognizing the importance of making this early investment in every child, more and more Americans, especially those with the means to pay for early childhood development programs, are enrolling their own children. Sheila Kamerman and Alfred Kahn, at the Columbia School of Social Work, analyzed primary school data provided by the U. S. Department of Education's Center for Statistics and found that 67 percent of four-year-olds (and 54 percent of three-year-olds) whose families have incomes of \$35,000 a year or more attend preschool programs.

While all American children could benefit from such programs, those

who are less well-off are far less likely to get the chance. In fact, they are less than half as likely. In 1985, fewer than 33 percent of four-year-olds and 17 percent of three-year-olds whose families had incomes of less than \$10,000 a year were enrolled in preschool programs, according to Kamerman and Kahn's study. Poor children are not getting an equal opportunity to participate in early child development programs.

These children are suffering this disadvantage for a clear reason: poor and near-poor parents cannot afford to provide their young children with this key enriching experience. A good preschool program costs at least \$3,000 a year. One out of four American children younger than six is growing up in a poor family. A family of four making poverty-level wages of about \$11,000 a year or less cannot afford to pay more than one-fourth of its income for preschool.

The discrepancy is all the more telling because poor children need this experience more, not less, than children from more well-off families. Good comprehensive programs can help eliminate the deficits many poor children suffer in nutrition or health that can impair their early development. In addition, a sound educational component can boost these children's chances for later success in their school careers. These programs should be structured to meet the needs of children of working parents as well as those whose parents are not in the labor force.

The Head Start Program

The federal government's Head Start program attempts to compensate for the many disadvantages suffered by low-income children whose parents cannot afford to pay for good early childhood services. For the past twenty-one years, Head Start has targeted its early childhood development program on the nation's neediest three- to five-year-old children and their families. Ninety percent of Head Start children are from families that live on incomes less than the poverty level and could not otherwise afford these services.

In Providence, Rhode Island 80 percent of the Head Start children live in substandard housing, and 80 percent live in inadequately heated homes. At least 50 percent lack the necessary warm winter clothing. Ninety percent of the parents of these children are high school dropouts, without the education and/or training they need to obtain any but the lowest paying jobs.

Head Start's original goal in 1965 was chiefly to help provide the disadvantaged children it serves with as much a chance to reach their full potential as their more advantaged peers. In addition to fulfilling this mission, however, the program has pioneered concepts that now are widely accepted as key to successful development for all children. Head Start's ingredients include not only preschool education but strong parent involvement and comprehensive service delivery. This comprehensive approach mirrors Head Start's broad developmental objectives: improving and expanding children's ability to think, reason, and speak clearly; working to improve children's health; aiding their emotional and social development; and helping children and their families gain greater confidence, self-respect, and dignity.

The program's multifaceted approach is essential to its success in helping low-income children and families. The reasons are clear. If children are provided breakfast and enough to eat during the rest of the day, they will be better able

to concentrate in school and generally will be more likely to thrive. Children who receive regular health care will have better attendance records, more energy, heightened attention when they are in class, and improved performance on these measures throughout their school careers. With special help, parents who are trapped in a cycle of poverty and deprivation can become partners in their children's learning experiences and take steps toward self-sufficiency themselves. Low-income communities can draw strength by helping themselves and running their own programs.

The program's results prove that comprehensive services work well in addressing all of these varied needs. Head Start makes a difference for children. Head Start children are more likely to be able to meet the basic requirements of school and less likely to be held back a grade or assigned to a special education class than are similarly situated children who do not attend the program. Children in Head Start receive more adequate levels of health care than children not in the program, have fewer absences from school, and perform better on physical tests. In the program year 1984-1985, 97.4 percent of those identified as needing treatment received it. Ninety-six percent of the children were brought up to date in their immunizations.

Head Start also makes a difference for parents. Four out of five of the parents of Head Start children are providing a volunteer service in the program. But Head Start's effect on parents goes far beyond their involvement in their children's learning and development. The program encourages parents who are struggling to have the confidence to seek jobs in Head Start and elsewhere and to move toward self-sufficiency. Thirty-one percent of the program's paid staff are parents of current or former Head Start children.

Ms. Jackson had three children, now teen-agers, who went through Head Start in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. She was hired on a part-time basis as a bus aide and cook for the Head Start program when her first child enrolled. She served as a member of the program's Parents' Policy Council while completing her GED. She then was hired as a teacher's aide, at which point she enrolled in the CDA (Child Development Associate) program to earn her credential as a caregiver. She was promoted to teacher and completed her CDA. Enrolling in a program to earn an Associate Degree in Early Childhood Education, she was promoted to Head Teacher. This year she will complete her two-year degree and become the Education Coordinator for the Head Start program in her city, with responsibility for overseeing the education program for 405 children in nine classrooms. Her future plans include obtaining a Bachelor's Degree.

A History of Head Start, edited by Jeannette Valentine and Dr. Edward Zigler (first director of the Office for Child Development of the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services), captures the importance of Head Start to parents:

"Head Start has become an effective, flexible, and comprehensive program for children and families. As a national laboratory for serving the nation's children, it has introduced new ways to combine educational, health, and social welfare services. The program's involvement of the poor in decision making has helped many families gain a sense of control over their own lives. Head Start could not eradicate poverty, but it has offered hope to

countless individuals. . . . Head Start represents only a small part of the solution to complicated social problems, but it is clearly a model of organizational innovation that has improved the lives of millions of children."

Comprehensive Early Childhood Development Programs Enhance Enrollees' Long-Term Education and Employment Prospects

A Head Start-type experience is an investment that continues to pay dividends both to the individuals involved and to society far into the future. *Changed Lives*, by High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, is a twenty-year follow-up study of graduates of a preschool program similar to Head Start. It found that graduates of Head Start or similar programs are much more likely to complete high school and to go on to vocational or academic training than are their peers without this type of early experience. They are more likely to be supporting themselves and less likely to be receiving public assistance. Graduates are less likely to be in trouble with the law, less likely to become teen parents, and more likely to be employed than those without the early childhood development experience.

The study also reinforced previous findings that the program is cost-effective. It found that the total economic benefits of two years of such an experience to the individual child and to society as a whole outweigh the costs by a ratio of seven to one.

Similar results emerged from a study by the New York University School of Education, following up on former participants in an enriched early childhood development program in Harlem in New York City. One hundred and seventy-eight young people who had participated in an extensive Head Start-type program in the mid-1960s were found when they reached young adulthood to have benefited significantly. They now have an employment rate double that of a control group. They are 50 percent more likely to have graduated from high school and are about one-third more likely to have gone on to some form of postsecondary education.

Many Head Start children move through school to extremely productive careers:

Three of Ann Boylan's children attended Head Start. The twins, Paula and Norman, are graduating from college this year. Paula is studying business at Temple University and plans to pursue a career in banking. Her brother Norman is studying for the ministry at Indiana University. He also works part time with runaways and troubled youths. Michelle, the youngest child, is in her second year at Temple University studying broadcasting. She graduated from high school at the top of her class.

Waiting Lists Have Grown as Funding Remains Stalled

Despite Head Start's proven effectiveness, the federal commitment of funds falls far short of need. Head Start now reaches about 451,000 disadvantaged youngsters, or only 16 percent of the 2.5 million children who need its services. Hundreds of thousands of underprivileged children are on Head Start waiting lists. Most of them probably still will be waiting for

program slots by the time they enter elementary school, when it will be too late for the program to enroll them.

While the Reagan Administration has supported ongoing funding for Head Start, it has not since 1981 supported any significant expansion of funds to increase the number of children served. Rather, it has tried to spread the existing budget more thinly and diminish the level of service so some programs can serve a handful more children. This policy risks a high potential cost to the overall quality of Head Start and to the comprehensive method that lies at the heart of its success.

Most Poor Children Still Must Turn to Head Start, Rather Than State Preschool Programs, for Early Development Opportunities

Despite its limitations, the federal government's Head Start program remains the primary source of support for comprehensive early childhood development opportunities for low-income children. The private sector never has come forth with significant resources to provide these key services to children or their families. And most states, despite Head Start's two decades of proven success, are spending little money to extend similar services to the millions of children Head Start cannot serve because it is so underfunded.

A few states, usually spurred on by the education reform movement of recent years, have expressed interest in modest state-funded preschool programs. More state-level leaders now recognize that an early start for low-income children may be a key factor in improving the ability of such children to succeed in later life. Accordingly, over the past three years, thirteen states have passed legislation authorizing some type of state preschool appropriation or expanding such an existing program. Ten other states have been providing limited funding for preschool programs for several years. Further encouragement comes from the National Governors' Association's recent recommendation that states play an expanding role in funding early child development programs.

The state initiatives vary widely in scope and quality, however. Some consist solely of non-directive legislation in the state's school code that merely allows local schools or districts to operate preschool programs. At the other end of the spectrum are states making special appropriations for preschool or providing state funds to supplement Head Start. In 1986-1987, for example, Florida will spend \$750,000 for a new early childhood development program that will be operated by schools and child care and Head Start programs. Rhode Island approved spending \$345,000 to supplement Head Start. A few other states, such as California and New York, have made modest investments in preschool for low-income children since the early 1970s. New York City will spend \$8 million this year to fund early childhood development programs for four-year-olds. Half of the programs will be operated by the public schools and the remainder by Head Start and child care programs.

However, state efforts barely have begun to address this challenge. The large majority of states do not provide funds for early childhood development programs for four-year-olds. In some, funding for preschool does not even seem to be a realistic option in the near future. Mississippi, which only recently began to pay for kindergarten for five-year-olds, is one example. Even states that have passed preschool initiatives too often have focused their programs primarily on the education component of preschool and ignored the comprehensive approach—the hallmark of Head Start—which is critical to serving low-income children and families effectively.

Given the limited state efforts, an expanded federal commitment to Head Start is essential to ensure that needy children in every region of the country have access to effective early childhood development programs.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1988

The Administration's funding recommendations for Head Start are duplicitous. First, the Administration recommends that Head Start receive a \$20 million increase, an amount that will not even allow the program to keep pace with inflation. The Administration then recommends an administrative change that could undercut the program, making its funding discretionary at the whim of the Administration. It proposes that Head Start be placed in a special group of twenty-six programs within the Office of Human Development Services (OHDS) in the Department of Health and Human Services. It asks that Congress abdicate its traditional role of appropriating funds for each of these programs on a line-item basis and instead designate a lump sum to be apportioned among these programs by OHDS officials. While an increase is suggested in theory for the Head Start portion, the total funds recommended for the twenty-six programs for FY 1988 is \$69 million less than appropriated in FY 1987. Even if the Administration were to keep its promise to increase Head Start by the modest amount proposed, therefore, it would be at the expense of other critical programs for children and families and handicapped and elderly individuals.

CDF Recommendations

The successful Head Start formula should be offered to many more eligible children. Appropriated funds should be raised to the full authorization level of \$1.263 billion in FY 1988 not only to meet the need to serve more children, but also to guard against slippage in quality. After that, to double during the next five years the number of children served and to ensure quality, Head Start authorization and appropriation levels must be increased at least \$300 million annually to permit modest growth. Eventually every eligible child should have the benefit of an experience in Head Start or a comparable program.

It is imperative that attention be paid to efforts to maintain the quality of Head Start while expanding its size. Additional resources can avert harmful trade-offs between serving more children, raising staff salaries to adequate levels, increasing the number of support staff and the quality of staff training, and making other program improvements. Attention to each of these components is essential to maintaining an effective program.

Further, we must build on the successes of Head Start and similar programs by making improvements in their scheduling patterns. Both Head Start and state-funded early childhood development programs must begin to explore how they can better meet the needs of working parents.

Because of shrinking resources, fewer and fewer Head Start programs offer a full day of service. They never have operated year-round. Most state preschool efforts only include a two and a half or three hour day. This means that working parents must make a complicated and costly set of child care arrangements, often resulting in the shifting of their children among several caregivers during the course of a single day. Low-income mothers participating in training programs and trying to move out of poverty and toward self-

sufficiency face the same dilemma. Because of the parents' schedule, their children, though technically eligible for Head Start or state preschool programs, often cannot take advantage of these programs' valuable supports.

Congress must provide for the extension of the Head Start day and the Head Start year, through amendments to the Head Start legislation or by allowing new federal child care funds to be paired with Head Start funds. It is necessary to assure that the children of parents who are working or in training get Head Start's important services.

It is also time to explore how Head Start's precepts can be applied to programs for younger children—infants and toddlers—in order to reach poor children who could benefit from its broad mix of services as early as possible. This would be especially beneficial to the children of teen parents. Many of these children are in particular need of the enhanced and comprehensive services the Head Start experience provides. Schools offering child care to teen parents should explore contracting with Head Start programs to have them provide the child care in school, using the Head Start model.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Head Start: Funding and Budget Requests, FY1981-FY1988
(in millions of dollars)

	Head Start	Child Care Food Program	Social Services Block Grant/ Title XX	CETA ¹ Public Service Employment
FY1981 actual	\$820.0	\$295.0	\$2,991.8	\$2,195.0
FY1982 proposed	911.7	242.8	— ²	0.0
FY1982 actual	911.7	270.5	2,460.0	100.0
FY1983 proposed	912.0	— ³	1,974.1	—
FY1983 actual	912.0	335.2	2,456.0	—
FY1984 proposed	974.7	— ³	2,560.0	—
FY1984 actual	995.0	378.1	2,700.0	—
FY1985 proposed	995.0	— ³	2,700.0	—
FY1985 actual	1,075.1	434.9	2,725.0	—
FY1986 proposed	1,075.1	322.3	2,700.0	—
FY1986 actual	1,087.1	475.8	2,700.0	—
After Gramm-Rudman	1,040.1	475.8	2,583.9	—
FY1987 proposed	1,075.0	338.1	2,700.0	—
FY1987 actual	1,130.5	537.2	2,700.0	—
FY1988 proposed	1,150.0 ⁴	373.6	2,700.0	—

¹Head Start lost an estimated 6,000 employees when CETA Public Service Employment was eliminated.

²A large number of programs were proposed for inclusion in the Social Services Block Grant; total funding for the block grant would have been cut by 25 percent. Many Head Start programs use SSBG monies to provide support services.

³Proposed to repeal, include in block grant; funding would have been cut by 27 percent in FY1983, by 30 percent in FY1984, and by 4 percent in FY1985. For FY1984 and FY1985, the Head Start portion of CCFP would have been transferred to the Head Start budget.

⁴Although a \$20 million increase is discussed, Head Start is included in a generic appropriation to 26 programs whose total budget would be \$69 million below FY1987 costs for the programs.

16. CIVIL RIGHTS

Every child in America should grow up with an equal chance to get a good education, obtain decent employment, and participate as a citizen in this democracy. But the Reagan Administration's efforts to undercut civil rights, if not stopped and reversed, will dim the hope of equal opportunity for today's children and for future generations.

Through its philosophy and conduct, the Administration has reversed the federal government's long-standing commitment to equal rights and equal opportunity. The Administration has attacked civil rights across the board, undercutting well-established federal policies that promote equal access in employment, education, voting, and other important areas of American life.

No Administration in decades has shown such callousness concerning the plight of minorities and other victims of discrimination. Indeed, the Administration's agenda has become so extreme that it often has met with resistance from Congress, conservative members of the Supreme Court, and leaders of the President's own party.

Overall, the Administration's civil rights philosophy represents an effort, unprecedented in recent history, to align the federal government with civil rights violators against their victims. Administration actions go counter to both the letter and spirit of the U.S. Constitution and scores of implementing congressional enactments.

Siding Against the Victims of Discrimination

Employment

Employment discrimination against members of minority groups and women continues to be widespread and costly to its victims and our society. Today's young black college graduates have about the same risk of being unemployed as white high school dropouts. Among Hispanics, only 60.5 percent of fathers worked full time, 15 percent below the national average, according to 1983 statistics. Blacks and women are less likely than white males to be able to obtain better-paying jobs. Even those with college degrees fare far worse in the job market than their white male peers. In 1982, white male college graduates earned a median annual income of approximately \$29,000, black male college

graduates earned \$19,000, white female graduates earned \$18,000, and black female graduates earned \$16,000.

In the 1980s victims of employment discrimination, whether they are minorities or women, often find an enemy rather than a friend in the federal government. The Administration has attacked public and private employers that have established goals to increase the hiring and promotion of minority and women employees to counter the impact of past discrimination. The Administration has fought such efforts in court, arguing that, even when ordered by a court after a finding of discrimination, they are nonetheless illegal under the Constitution and antidiscrimination laws.

The Department of Justice pressed this view in three recent cases in the U.S. Supreme Court—and was rejected resoundingly in each. Together, the cases *Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education*; *Local 28, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association v. EEOC*; and *Local No. 93, International Association of Firefighters v. City of Cleveland*, led the Court to affirm the propriety of affirmatively taking race and gender into account in employment decisions as a means of redressing past discrimination. It declared numerical goals a proper, as well as proven, means of increasing minority employment. The Justices wrote that "the purpose of affirmative action is . . . to dismantle prior patterns of discrimination" and recognized that "in order to remedy the effects of past discrimination it may be necessary for an employer to take race into account."

Despite this explicit rebuke from the Supreme Court, the Department of Justice (DOJ) has not relented in its attack on affirmative action. On the contrary, DOJ since has renewed its assault on the nation's largest and most successful affirmative action effort: the federal government's own program to insure that employers with whom it contracts give a fair share of jobs and promotions to minorities and women. The federal program, set forth in Executive Order 11246, has a simple premise: government contracts should not be awarded to employers who are guilty of present discrimination or of past discrimination the results of which have yet to be remedied. Therefore, businesses with government contracts but significant underrepresentation of minorities or women in their work forces (by comparison to the available labor force) must adopt numerical goals and timetables to raise these proportions.

The Executive Order's affirmative action origins are in 1967, when a private industry group of 350 large corporations recommended specific criteria for employers. President Richard Nixon then incorporated these criteria in federal regulations in 1970. They have remained substantially unchanged since that time, enjoying wide support in the business and civil rights communities. The program affects some 30,000 companies, employing more than 23 million workers.

Data show that affirmative action works. A study published by the current Administration's own Department of Labor showed that, between 1974 and 1980 alone, the number of minorities and women working for companies covered by the Executive Order increased 20 percent and 15 percent, respectively, while total employment in these companies rose only 3 percent. In addition, studies show that affected employers have not had to sacrifice work standards or productivity, or spend more than minimal amounts of money to comply with affirmative action requirements. Affirmative action now has strong support among the public, both political parties, and America's businesses.

- A September 1985 Harris Poll shows that a record 75 percent of the American people support federal affirmative action programs.
- More than 230 members of the House of Representatives, as well as sixty-nine Senators, including the Republican leadership of Congress,

have written letters of support for the existing Executive Order.

- Led by the National Association of Manufacturers, the Business Roundtable, and the New York Chamber of Commerce, most business leaders have opposed changes in the Executive Order.

The one focus of powerful opposition is the Administration. Attorney General Edwin Meese III and Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights William Bradford Reynolds have pressed for changes in the Executive Order that would gut its effectiveness. They would bar even the use of employment statistics to evaluate the fairness of a company's employment practices. Administration officials persist in claiming—despite the Supreme Court's clear statement to the contrary—that the affirmative action component of the Executive Order is unlawful. Their efforts have been stopped so far only by the widespread support for the Executive Order, including support from the Administration's own Department of Labor, which is charged with implementing this policy.

In addition to its broad opposition to affirmative action to remedy discrimination, DOJ has undertaken efforts specifically calculated to undercut women's rights in the work place.

- In a 1986 Supreme Court case, DOJ argued that an employer was not liable under anti-sex-discrimination laws for sexual harassment of its employees. A female bank employee complained that her supervisor had made sexual advances, harassed her, and implicitly threatened her with loss of her job. Under normal legal principles her employer would be liable for such outrageous conduct by one of its managerial employees, but DOJ argued that this rule should not apply to sexual harassment. The Supreme Court unanimously rejected DOJ's arguments.
- In 1986 the Administration asked the Supreme Court to declare unlawful a California statute requiring employers to provide unpaid short-term disability leave and reinstatement for pregnant women, so they cannot be fired simply because they leave work for a short time to give birth. The Administration claimed the law discriminates against men and therefore violates federal civil rights laws. In January 1987 the Supreme Court rejected the Administration's position.

Education

Our nation's commitment to equal educational opportunity for every child has not yet been realized. Data show that minority children fall further behind in school the older they are and the more years of school they complete. Hispanic children, who face special language barriers, suffer dropout rates of almost one in three—more than twice the national rate of one in seven. Despite the virtual elimination of *de jure* racial segregation (segregation mandated by law) in our nation's schools, *de facto* school segregation persists, and is a major contributor to the often inferior educational opportunities offered to minority children. Groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) estimate that the majority of black school children still attend inferior schools. Yet the Administration consistently has opposed efforts to make the educational system more fair to all children.

- DOJ has attempted through the courts to upset ongoing and well-accepted desegregation efforts in scores of elementary and secondary school systems across the nation. In a case involving the Norfolk, Virginia schools, DOJ argued that, after a community has desegregated

its schools, it has no continuing obligation to ensure that its schools remain desegregated. The U.S. Court of Appeals accepted this argument in the Norfolk case, although it has been rejected by another Court of Appeals in a similar case. Immediately after the decision, DOJ issued a list of 114 southern school systems that originally were desegregated as a result of litigation brought on behalf of the United States and claimed that the systems are now free to abandon their court-imposed school desegregation plans. Before issuing the list, DOJ did not investigate the impact that abandonment of the plans would have on the children involved.

- The Administration also has lent its direct support to "segregation academies"—primarily southern private schools for whites that have been established in reaction to desegregation mandates. In the early part of his Administration, President Reagan attempted to reverse a long-standing Internal Revenue Service policy that denied federal tax-exempt status to such schools. In 1983, the Supreme Court, in its eight-to-one *Bob Jones University v. United States* decision, rejected the President's view, with only Justice Rehnquist, now Chief Justice, supporting the President. However, as a subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee recently discovered, the Administration then began a process of secretly granting tax-exempt status to these institutions. To date, the IRS has bestowed such status upon some 10 percent of the private schools to which exemptions previously had been denied. One of the most notorious of these—the Prince Edward School in Virginia—had never had a black pupil, and its headmaster had recently told a reporter that "the best quality of education can be obtained if blacks and whites are educated separately" because of "the inferior level of Negro intelligence."
- DOJ opposed an innovative settlement devised by the State of Tennessee and lawyers for black students to redress segregation in the state's higher education system. One aspect of the settlement called for the implementation of a remedial program under which seventy-five black college sophomores within the state are to be selected for an intensive pre-professional program. The program, now in effect, is designed to increase the presently very low numbers of black students in professional schools and black professionals in Tennessee. DOJ objected to the program, citing its race-conscious character. The trial court, however, approved the settlement as necessary "to overcome the residual effects of past color-based discrimination." The U.S. Court of Appeals also rejected DOJ's legal arguments, calling them "discredited."
- The Administration has sought to dismantle bilingual education programs on the ground that it is inappropriate for the public schools to teach in a language other than English. Hundreds of thousands of school children speak little or no English. For such children, instruction in English alone can be a cruel hoax, recognized as a denial of equal educational opportunity by the courts and Congress. Despite the Department of Education's own study that shows the superiority of bilingual education over other methods of instruction, including English immersion programs, for minority-language students, Education Secretary William Bennett has mounted an aggressive campaign to alter federal law to permit school districts to abandon bilingual instruction.

At the same time that he is pressing this proposal, Bennett has reworked federal education regulations in a way that penalizes effective

bilingual programs, one of which is in Los Angeles at the Eastern School. As a result of the program, test scores at the school, in which 90 percent of the students come from non-English speaking homes, improved dramatically, exceeding city-wide averages for English reading and spelling. Yet, after Secretary Bennett reviewed the program last year, its federal funding was terminated.

Voting

Even today, it is often difficult for members of racial minority groups to participate equally in the electoral process in numerous states and cities. Restrictive registration practices, election day procedures designed to discourage minority voting, and electoral schemes that dilute minority political strength are still formidable barriers. Vigorous enforcement of the federal Voting Rights Act, which in the past has lowered these barriers, is essential to enable minority Americans to achieve full access to our political process. Yet the current Administration repeatedly has attempted to weaken both the Act and its enforcement.

Early in the Reagan presidency, the Administration opposed reauthorization of the Act. When this position proved politically untenable, White House lobbyists attempted to persuade Congress to weaken key provisions. In particular, the Administration fought a provision outlawing electoral schemes that result in discrimination against blacks. It wanted to limit voting rights claims to those in which minorities could prove that officials intended to discriminate. Despite the Administration's opposition, the Act (including the discriminatory results provision) was reauthorized and strengthened by Congress in 1982.

While it lost the battle in Congress, the Administration since has attempted to win the war through the courts and through lax enforcement of the Act. In *Thornburg v. Gingles*, the first major Supreme Court test of the Act since its reauthorization, DOJ urged the Court to hold that the Act proscribed only intentional acts of discrimination. The case was brought by a group of black voters in North Carolina who challenged a legislative districting and gerrymandering scheme that had the effect of diluting black voting strength. Although there was no explicit evidence of discriminatory motivation behind enactment of the scheme, the trial court found it illegal under the Act because of its discriminatory result. DOJ argued that the court lacked authority to make such a finding, a view so flagrantly contrary to congressional intent that it prompted Republican leaders of Congress and the Republican National Committee to file briefs in opposition to the Administration. The Supreme Court unanimously rejected the Administration's views.

In defiance of this judgment, however, DOJ for a time refused to apply the "results" standard to its review of voting plans under the Act. Assistant Attorney General Reynolds announced that DOJ would accept changes in voting systems even if they have discriminatory effects, provided they replace a similarly discriminatory practice and the extent of discrimination does not increase. But DOJ has failed to apply uniformly even this lax standard, permitting many voting changes under which minorities lose ground.

- DOJ approved a Louisiana districting scheme for seats in the U.S. House of Representatives over the objections of black state legislators and career lawyers in DOJ's Civil Rights Division. The plan, which included a gerrymandered district so misshapen that it resembled a duck, later was invalidated by the federal courts.

- DOJ approved a Selma, Alabama plan to move a polling place serving a largely black precinct from a community center in a black neighborhood to a room opposite the sheriff's office in the county courthouse. The new polling place was a \$5 taxi ride from the old one. As a result of the change, voting in the precinct declined by more than 30 percent. Assistant Attorney General Reynolds reportedly could not understand why blacks might be deterred from voting at the courthouse and called any connection between the decreased turnout and the change a "fanciful conclusion."

In January 1987, after widespread public disapproval of its abdication of its responsibilities, DOJ flip-flopped in part, issuing regulations that establish a results test.

Rights of the Handicapped

The Administration actively has campaigned against or worked to subvert a range of legal protections that help handicapped persons function in the mainstream of society.

- In a case before the U.S. Supreme Court, *United States Department of Transportation v. Paralyzed Veterans of America*, DOJ opposed applying one such legal protection to cases involving the rights of the handicapped to decent treatment during commercial air travel. The statute outlaws discrimination against the handicapped in activities receiving federal financial assistance. Because commercial airlines benefit substantially from federal aid to airports as well as from federal air traffic control, a lower court had ruled that the law's protections extend to such travel. In part because of the opposing position taken by DOJ, however, the Supreme Court held against the plaintiffs. Outraged by this decision, Congress immediately reversed the decision by enacting the Air Carrier Access Act of 1986.
- The Administration supported in court a discriminatory secret policy of the Social Security Administration in *Bowen v. City of New York*. The policy permitted biased judgments against the mentally handicapped in eligibility determinations for disability benefits. The Administration fought the case at the trial level, in the U.S. Court of Appeals, and last year in the Supreme Court, only to lose each time.
- Against the advice of the federal Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) and the American Medical Association, DOJ in 1986 issued a policy statement that effectively deprives certain handicapped persons of the protections of federal anti-discrimination law if those discriminating against them claim they are fearful of disease. The issue arose first in the context of AIDS. Although DOJ acknowledged that people with AIDS are handicapped within the meaning of federal law, it asserts that employers and others are free to discriminate against them on the basis of fears of contagion of the AIDS virus, even if such fears are unfounded and irrational. Thus, under this interpretation employers may refuse to hire people with AIDS, schools may refuse to educate them, and hospitals may refuse to admit them—even when the refusals rest not on legitimate risks of contagion but on mistaken beliefs that the AIDS virus can be spread through casual contact. The DOJ position led it to argue further in a recent Supreme Court case that a Florida school system was free to fire a teacher with tuberculosis, even though there was no evidence that she was unfit for her job or presented a health hazard to students.

Lax Enforcement of Civil Rights Laws

Not only has the Administration actively taken the side of civil rights violators on a range of issues, it often has sat on its hands when called on to enforce civil rights laws.

One key example is its reluctance to challenge discriminatory activities of institutions that receive federal funds. Federal law stipulates that federal dollars must not be spent to subsidize institutions engaged in discrimination. However, at the prompting of the Administration, the Supreme Court in 1984 created a giant loophole in this law: in *Grove City v Bell*, it ruled that this prohibition applies only to the particular activity for which federal funds are received. Thus, if a college receives federal assistance only in the form of student grants and loans for tuition, the prohibition against discrimination applies only to the college's financial aid program. It would not bar the college's other programs and activities—from admissions to teaching to running dormitories—from unfairly treating minorities, women, the handicapped, or the aged.

The Administration has embraced this narrow view wholeheartedly, opposing all legislation to restore the anti-discrimination prohibition to the broader scope it generally was understood to have before *Grove City*, and embracing a sweeping view of the decision as a way to ignore complaints of discrimination.

- A California woman who worked for a health maintenance organization charged that she was dismissed from her job due to a disability. Although the HMO receives federal Medicare payments to pay for its services, HHS dismissed her complaint because the outpatient records department in which she worked did not handle these payments.
- Parents in Mecklenburg County, Virginia complained that the schools were segregating pupils by race through the inappropriate use of "ability groupings." The Department of Education (DOE) dismissed the complaint because the ability groupings did not occur in specific programs receiving federal funds.
- A woman who helped found the Center for the Study of Children's Literature at Simmons College in Boston charged that she was dismissed from her job to make room for a more junior male faculty member. DOE dismissed her complaint of age and sex discrimination because the center itself received none of the more than \$2 million annually in federal funds given to Simmons.

Even in cases where there is no debate about federal enforcement responsibility, the Administration has been reluctant to protect basic rights in any aggressive manner. The Office of Civil Rights (OCR) in HHS is charged with ensuring nondiscrimination by the health and social service organizations and agencies that receive federal assistance. To this end, it is supposed to investigate complaints and initiate reviews of compliance. When it finds a violation of civil rights laws, OCR may do one of three things: enter into a voluntary settlement, initiate administrative proceedings against the violator, or refer the case to DOJ.

OCR has, almost without exception, chosen the least aggressive of the three procedures. Of the thousands of complaints OCR has handled between 1981 and 1986, only two have gone to administrative hearings, and only four have been referred to DOJ. In the vast majority of cases in which it finds civil rights violations, OCR makes use of a very lax voluntary settlement approach. As a congressional oversight investigation recently disclosed, OCR's negotiated

agreements amount to no more than slaps on the wrist. Typically, violators are not even forced to remedy the effects of past discriminatory conduct, nor are they monitored to see that present discrimination has halted.

Essentially the same state of affairs exists at the Office of Civil Rights in DOE. The administration, however, seems unconcerned. When an internal quality assurance unit documented OCR's failure to enforce civil rights laws effectively, the unit was disbanded. Of the money appropriated by Congress for OCR between FY 1980 and FY 1985, Secretary Bennett and his predecessors failed to spend more than \$20 million.

At the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), which handles employment discrimination claims, rapid closure of cases is routinely given priority over effective enforcement. EEOC staff admitted to Congress in 1985 that, in an effort to make their numbers look good, they are rushing investigations and sacrificing both quality and thoroughness in the process. Not surprisingly, the percentage of concluded cases in which evidence of discrimination is found has declined dramatically, from 72 percent in FY 1980 to 44 percent in FY 1986.

Further, the Administration has gutted a special unit previously set up in DOJ to litigate on behalf of handicapped individuals and others confined to institutions. According to one former staff member testifying before Congress, the current DOJ leadership has "virtually ignored the congressional purpose, intent, and plain meaning of CRIPA [the Civil Rights of Institutionalized Persons Act] by its complete failure to implement the legislation." In particular:

- DOJ has been slow to initiate investigations of abuse and neglect in institutions for the handicapped. In one case, DOJ acted only after eighteen months of well-publicized rapes, suicides, and deaths at the institution.
- DOJ has dragged its feet in completing the few investigations it has started. Delays of two years in completing investigations are typical.
- Rarely does DOJ file a lawsuit, even when its investigations disclose egregious violations of rights. DOJ says it prefers negotiated solutions—a preference that is frequently a screen for inaction or for settlements that might be too weak to present to judges. Negotiations drag on for years while handicapped residents suffer. It took three years, for example, for DOJ to reach a settlement in the case of one Maryland institution where retarded residents had been raped and otherwise sexually abused and three people had died because of neglect.
- The relief obtained by DOJ generally is insubstantial, both because of DOJ's narrow view of residents' rights and its lack of insistence on a specific course of conduct to correct rights violations.

Not only has the Administration made it harder for citizens to obtain civil rights enforcement through the federal government, it has tried to make it harder for them to win legal redress on their own. It has pushed in the courts and in Congress both for rules and standards that would limit the right of victims of civil rights violations to sue for relief themselves, and for restrictions on funds available to law and advocacy groups to sue on their behalf. The Administration has fought to bar civil rights advocacy organizations from obtaining private contributions from federal employees through the Combined Federal Campaign, the government employees' annual charity drive; it has tried to eliminate the Legal Services Corporation, which provides free legal assistance to indigent persons, including minorities, women, and the handicapped; and it

has worked to reverse federal laws that require perpetrators of discrimination to pay the costs of the legal actions required to end their unlawful conduct.

Administration Appointees: Foxes in the Chicken Coop

The clearest reflection of the Administration's indifference or outright hostility to civil rights enforcement is the people it has chosen to do the job. It has given the most powerful jobs to those who have a record of opposing civil rights.

Attorney General Meese has brought no blacks or women into top policy-making positions in DOJ since he took office in 1985. As a result, the top echelon of DOJ is one of the most segregated work forces in the nation. There are no women or blacks in the department's twenty-one presidentially appointed senior policy-making jobs. In fact, DOJ is one of three federal agencies that have refused to follow federal regulations requiring them to set minority hiring goals.

Joseph N. Cooper, as head of the Department of Labor office responsible for enforcement of affirmative action guarantees by federal contractors, was one of the highest ranking black officials in the Administration. He resigned in January 1987 and went public with his protest, citing weak commitment on the part of Administration officials to civil rights in general and that program in particular.

One of the saddest civil rights stories has been the virtual destruction of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. For more than two decades the Commission's research, reports, and moral voice helped lead the civil rights revolution. President Reagan's appointments to the Commission have been so hostile to civil rights and the Commission's recent work so inept and so plagued by charges of waste and corruption that it became a "national disgrace," in the words of Ralph Neas, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Not only has it made a mockery of its role, but both houses of Congress have repudiated its management. After a GAO audit found serious mismanagement and detailed abuses in personnel practices, travel payments, and financial records, Congress in 1986 came close to eliminating the Commission entirely. In the end Congress substantially reduced its budget and restricted its use of its monies. No member of Congress stood up to defend the Commission.

Of the 226 lawyers nominated by President Reagan to be federal trial judges, only four have been black. Only 1.7 percent of his nominees to the federal appeals courts have been black and only 6.7 percent women. This record compares extremely unfavorably with that of President Carter, who nominated nine blacks (16.1 percent of all nominees) and eleven women (19.6 percent) to federal appeals courts. Even twenty years ago, at a time when the available pool of minority and women lawyers was far smaller, President Nixon nominated blacks and women at greater rates.

Even more disturbing, the President repeatedly has given key legal positions to persons whose records show, at the very least, insensitivity to civil rights concerns.

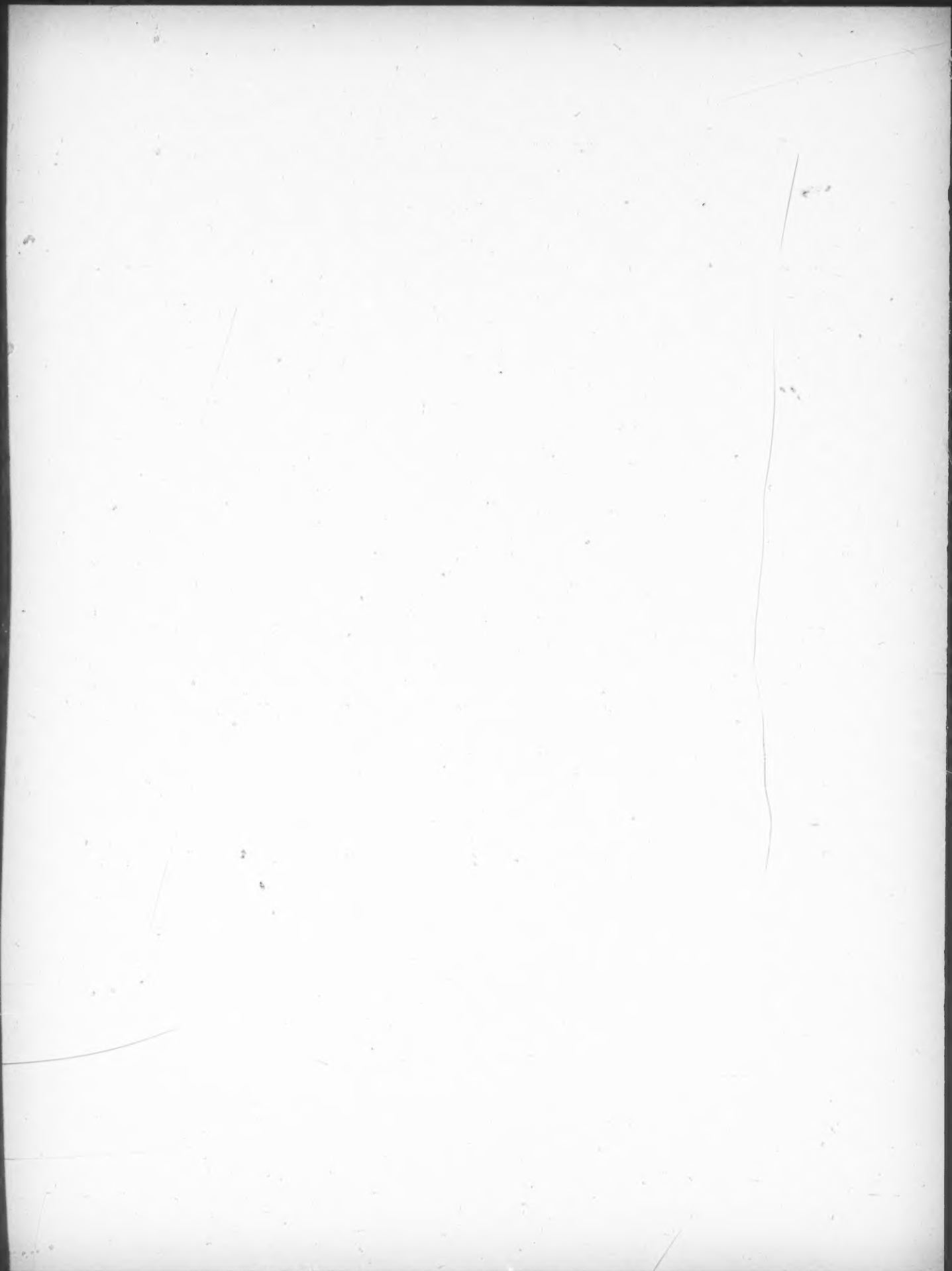
- **Attorney General Edwin Meese III:** During an October 1986 speech at Tulane University, the Attorney General declared that Supreme Court decisions were not necessarily the supreme law of the land and invited public officials to defy decisions with which they disagreed. His statements were remarkably similar to the Southern Manifesto, issued

by southern elected officials in 1956 to justify their massive resistance to the Supreme Court's 1954 decision outlawing school segregation.

- **Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds:** So hostile has Reynolds been to civil rights that the Republican-controlled Senate refused in 1985 to confirm his promotion to a higher rank in DOJ. In Senate hearings Reynolds was charged with placing himself above the law by ignoring the congressional intent of civil rights legislation and defying the decisions of the federal judiciary.
- **Chief Justice William Rehnquist:** Few public figures have displayed such unrelenting opposition to civil rights as has Chief Justice Rehnquist. As a Supreme Court clerk in the early 1950s, he argued against overruling Texas' "whites only" political primary, writing: "It is about time the Court faced the fact that the white people in the South don't like the colored people." In the late 1950s, as a practicing lawyer, he opposed desegregation of the Phoenix schools. In the early 1960s, he participated in efforts to intimidate black voters in elections in Phoenix. As a DOJ lawyer in 1970 he proposed an amendment to the Constitution to limit the power of federal courts to remedy school segregation. He advised President Nixon to oppose the Equal Rights Amendment, stating: "If the husband decided to move from Boston to Chicago in order to take a different job, the wife is legally obligated to accompany him . . . The ERA apparently would leave both parties with the power to decide this question." As an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, he voted against civil rights claimants in eighty-two of the eighty-three cases in which the Court was split on questions affecting the rights of minorities, women, the disabled, and the elderly.
- **The Federal Courts:** Judicial nominee Jeffrey B. Sessions III has described the National Council of Churches, the NAACP, and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) as "un-American," has called a prominent white civil rights attorney a "disgrace to his race," and has said he thought Ku Klux Klan members "were okay until I heard they smoke pot." Judicial nominee Daniel Manion, now a federal appeals judge, has praised a book attacking the federal courts for interfering with "states' rights" by ordering school desegregation; as a state legislator, he urged defiance of Supreme Court decisions.

The Administration's Proposals for FY 1988

Since the 1970s, the President's proposed budget has included a special civil rights analysis of the budget's impact. This year that analysis has been abandoned, perhaps in an effort to obscure the Administration's plans. However, it is possible to determine from other portions of the budget the impact of the Administration's proposed budget cuts on the civil rights of minorities, women, and the handicapped. The Administration again has proposed large cuts or complete elimination of programs directed at improving the opportunities for these groups to advance in our society. The Administration wants to eliminate the Women's Educational Equity Act, assistance for desegregating educational institutions, and educational assistance for immigrants and refugees, and to make large cuts in educational programs for the handicapped.



APPENDIX A
DATA ON CHILDREN,
POVERTY, AND
FEDERAL PROGRAMS

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Federal Budget

Federal Budget for
Selected Children's Programs

	FY 1986 Actual (millions)	FY 1987 Actual (millions)	FY 1988 Proposed (millions)	Change FY87 Actual- FY88 Proposed (millions)	Change FY87 Actual- FY88 Proposed (percent)
Child Care & Child Welfare:					
Social Services Block Grant	\$2,583.9	\$2,700.0	\$2,700.0	\$ 0.0	0.0
Community Services Block Grant	359.9	369.9	310.0	-59.9	-16.2
Juvenile Justice	67.3	70.3	0.0	-70.3	-100.0
"Generic Appropriation" Proposed by President for FY 1988					
Head Start	1,040.1	1,130.5	1,150.0	19.5	1.7
Child Development Scholarships	0.0	1.0			
After School & Dependent Care	4.8	5.0			
Native American Programs	27.7	29.0			
Runaway Youth	22.2	23.3			
Child Abuse State Grants	11.4	12.0			
Child Abuse Discretionary	13.3	13.9			
Child Abuse Challenge Grants	0.0	5.0			
Family Violence	8.4	8.5			
Adoption Opportunities	4.8	5.0			
Child Welfare Research	11.2	11.3			
Child Welfare Services	198.1	222.5			
Child Welfare Training	3.7	3.8			
Developmental Disabilities	76.9	83.7			
Aging Programs (included)	671.4	724.7			
Unspecified "Generic"	0.0	0.0	1,060.0	1,060.0	[new]
"Generic Appropriation" subtotal	2,094.0	2,279.2	2,210.0	-69.2	-3.0
.....Subtotal	\$5,105.1	\$5,419.4	\$5,220.0	\$ -199.4	-3.7

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Federal Budget

Selected Children's Programs
(continued)

	FY 1986 Actual (millions)	FY 1987 Actual (millions)	FY 1988 Proposed (millions)	Change FY87 Actual- FY88 Proposed (millions)	Change FY87 Actual- FY88 Proposed (percent)
Child Health:					
Maternal & Child Health	\$ 457.4	\$ 478.0	\$ 478.0	\$ 0.0	0.0
Preventive Health Block Grant	87.5	89.5	90.0	0.5	0.6
Mental Health Block Grant	468.9	495.0	495.0	0.0	0.0
Mental Health Community Support	12.0	15.0	20.0	5.0	33.3
Immunization	56.9	87.3	94.0	6.7	7.7
Venereal Disease Prevention	53.9	59.9	57.0	-2.9	-4.8
Community Health Centers	396.0	400.0	400.0	0.0	0.0
Black Lung Clinics	3.3	3.4	3.0	-0.4	-11.8
Migrant Health	44.9	45.0	45.0	0.0	0.0
Family Planning	136.4	142.5	0.0	-142.5	-100.0
Family Planning Block Grant	0.0	0.0	144.0	144.0	[new]
.....Subtotal	\$ 1,717.2	\$ 1,815.6	\$ 1,826.0	\$ 10.4	0.6
Education:					
Compensatory Education	\$ 3,529.6	\$ 3,944.2	\$ 4,144.2	\$ 200.0	5.1
Handicapped Education	1,349.5	1,741.9	1,488.2	-253.7	-14.6
Bilingual Education	168.9	180.6	143.1	-37.5	-20.8
Chapter II	506.2	529.3	529.3	0.0	0.0
Vocational Education	813.4	882.3	0.0	-882.3	-100.0
Indian Education	64.2	64.0	64.2	0.2	0.3
Follow Through	7.2	7.2	0.0	-7.2	-100.0
Women's Educational Equity	5.7	3.5	0.0	-3.5	-100.0
Civil Rights IV-A Centers	23.0	24.0	0.0	-24.0	-100.0
Student Financial Assistance	4,675.4	5,196.0	3,336.0	-1,860.0	-35.8
Guaranteed Student Loans	3,260.0	3,004.0	1,176.6	-1,827.4	-60.8
Higher/Continuing Education	435.7	477.1	176.1	-301.0	-63.1
.....Subtotal	\$14,838.8	\$16,054.1	\$11,057.7	-\$4,996.4	-31.1

Federal Budget

Selected Children's Programs
(continued)

	FY 1986 Actual (millions)	FY 1987 Actual (millions)	FY 1988 Proposed (millions)	Change FY87 Actual- FY88 Proposed (millions)	Change FY87 Actual- FY88 Proposed (percent)
Miscellaneous					
Supplemental Food (WIC)	\$ 1,580.5	\$ 1,663.5	\$ 1,687.5	\$ 24.0	1.4
Job Corps	612.5	656.4	651.7	-4.7	-0.7
Summer Youth Employment	636.0	750.0	650.0	-100.0	-13.3
Low Income Energy Assistance	2,009.7	1,825.0	1,237.0	-588.0	-32.2
Legal Services	292.4	305.5	0.0	-305.5	-100.0
Rehabilitation Services	1,309.8	1,484.8	1,401.1	-83.7	-5.6
Work Incentives	210.5	110.0	0.0	-110.0	-100.0
Appalachian Area Development	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
.....Subtotal	\$ 6,652.1	\$ 6,795.2	\$ 5,627.3	-1,167.9	-17.2
Total	\$28,313.2	\$30,084.3	\$23,731.0	\$ -6,353.3	-21.1

For notes and descriptions, see the individual chapters of this book.

Major Entitlement Programs of Critical Importance to Children and Families

	FY 1988 Current Policy (millions)	FY 1988 Proposed Level (millions)	Change Proposed in Level (millions)	Change Proposed in Level (percent)
Food Stamps	\$13,020.6	\$12,742.6	\$ -278.0	-2.1%
Child Nutrition ^a	4,880.6	4,022.8	-857.8	-17.6
AFDC & Child Support	10,319.9	9,851.5	-468.4	-4.5
Foster Care & Adoption	885.5	682.0	-203.5	-23.0
Medicaid	28,120.0	26,864.0	-1,256.0	-4.5
Total	\$57,226.6	\$54,162.9	\$ -3,063.7	-5.4

^aIncludes school lunch, school breakfast, child care food, summer food, special milk, nutrition education, administrative cost, and smaller programs. Commodity costs are included in total.

For notes and descriptions, see the individual chapters of this book.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Federal Budget

Federal Outlays per Person (FY 1987 Dollars) for National Defense and for Programs for Low-Income Families and Children, Fiscal Years 1980-1992

Fiscal Year	National Defense	Low-Income Programs
1980	\$ 811.34	\$524.88
1981	849.95	530.24
1982	923.13	462.83
1983	1,001.14	470.56
1984	1,040.66	470.66
1985	1,105.76	475.75
1986	1,160.10	487.10
1987	1,158.18	491.08
1988	1,169.39	466.45
1989	1,174.32	458.80
1990	1,191.28	448.61
1991	1,216.40	445.72
1992	1,251.16	438.82
Change FY 1980- FY 1992		
in real dollars	\$+439.82	\$-86.06
in percent	+54.2%	-16.4%

For FY 1988-FY 1992, numbers reflect President Reagan's proposals. National Defense outlays are totals for function 050. Programs for low-income families and children include all outlays for: education, training, and social services (function 500); health care services (subfunction 551); housing assistance (subfunction 604); food and nutrition assistance (subfunction 605); and other income security (subfunction 609). This grouping includes all the programs discussed in this book, plus many small categorical programs (e.g., library grants) and a few larger adult employment programs (eg., employment services) not covered. The consumer price index (CPI-W) used to convert to real FY 1987 dollars uses actual Bureau of Labor Statistics data through December 1986, and Office of Management and Budget projections for 1987 and after. U.S. total population estimates (through July 1, 1986) and projections thereafter (adjusted by CDF for the error of estimate in 1986) are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census. \$14.1 billion in FY 1985 of low income housing loans are removed from subfunction 504. These loans are treated as direct outlays in that year's budget for technical reasons related to tax changes passed the prior year. They did not include any actual new funds for housing in that or any other year. All calculations are by the Children's Defense Fund.

Poverty

Percentage of Children in Poverty,
by Family Structure and Race, 1959-1985

	Hispanic			Black			White			Total		
	Female Head	All	Total	Female Head	All	Other	Female Head	All	Other	Female Head	All	Other
1959	n/a	n/a	n/a	81.6	60.6	65.5	64.6	17.4	20.6	72.2	22.4	26.9
1969	n/a	n/a	n/a	68.2	25.0	39.6	45.2	6.7	9.7	54.4	8.6	13.8
1979	62.2	19.2	27.7	63.1	18.7	40.8	38.6	7.3	11.4	48.6	8.5	16.0
1980	65.0	22.9	33.0	64.8	20.3	42.1	41.6	9.0	13.4	50.8	10.4	17.9
1981	67.3	24.5	35.4	67.7	23.4	44.9	42.8	10.0	14.7	52.3	11.6	19.5
1982	71.8	27.8	38.9	70.7	24.1	47.3	46.5	11.6	16.5	56.0	13.0	21.3
1983	70.6	27.2	37.7	68.3	23.7	46.2	47.1	12.0	17.0	55.4	13.5	21.8
1984	71.0	27.5	38.7	66.2	24.3	46.2	45.9	11.0	16.1	54.0	12.5	21.0
1985	72.4	27.4	39.6	66.9	18.8	43.1	45.2	10.4	15.6	53.6	11.7	20.1

Percent change in poverty rate 1959-1979 and 1979-1985:

1959-												
1979	n/a	n/a	n/a	-22.7	-69.1	-37.7	-40.2	-58.0	-44.7	-32.7	-62.1	-40.5
1979-												
1985	+16.4	+42.7	+43.0	+6.0	+0.5	+5.6	+17.1	+42.5	+36.8	+10.3	+37.6	+25.6

Note: Hispanic children may be of any race. Hispanic data are first available in 1973.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 154, "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1985 (Advance Data from the March 1986 Current Population Survey)," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., August 1986, table 16, pages 22-4. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Poverty

Poverty Rates by Age Group, 1969-1985

	All	18-up	6-17	0-5	0-17
1969	12.2	11.2	13.5	15.3	14.1
1970	12.6	11.3	14.3	16.6	15.0
1971	12.5	11.2	14.3	16.9	15.1
1972	11.9	10.4	14.4	16.1	14.9
1973	11.1	9.6	13.6	15.7	14.2
1974	11.6	9.8	14.9	16.9	15.5
1975	12.3	10.3	16.2	18.4	16.8
1976	11.8	10.0	15.1	17.7	15.8
1977	11.6	9.7	15.1	18.1	16.0
1978	11.4	9.6	15.0	17.2	15.7
1979	11.6	9.9	15.1	17.9	16.0
1980	13.0	11.1	16.8	20.3	17.9
1981	14.0	11.9	18.4	22.0	19.5
1982	15.0	12.7	20.3	23.3	21.3
1983	15.2	12.9	20.2	24.6	21.7
1984	14.4	12.1	19.7	23.4	21.0
1985	14.0	11.5	19.5	23.0	20.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 154, "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1985 (Advance Data from the March 1986 Current Population Survey)," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., table 18, page 27; and corresponding reports for previous years. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Poverty

Percentage of Families with Children Under Age 18
That Had Income Below the Poverty Level in 1984
by Age and Race of Family Head and Type of Family

Family Type and Age of Head	Black	White	Total
Female-Headed Families	58.4%	38.8%	45.7%
Head Under Age 25	82.8	72.1	76.8
Head Age 25-44	56.5	37.5	43.8
Two-Parent Families	16.6	8.5	9.4
Head Under Age 25	33.2	20.8	21.8
Head Age 25-44	14.9	7.7	8.4

Note: Data for Hispanic families are not published.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 152, Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1984," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1986, table 15, pages 59-62.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Poverty

Median Income Deficit Below Poverty Level
Among All Poor Families in 1985 Dollars, and as a Percentage
of the 1985 Poverty Level for a Four-Person Family, 1959-1985

Year	Median Income Deficit (1985 Dollars)	% of 1985 4-Person Poverty Level
1959	\$3528	32.1%
1969	2886	26.3
1970	3080	28.0
1971	2980	27.1
1972	3094	28.2
1973	3003	27.3
1974	3297	30.0
1975	2998	27.3
1976	2988	27.2
1977	3151	28.7
1978	3183	29.0
1979	3246	29.5
1980	3368	30.6
1981	3570	32.5
1982	3773	34.3
1983	3868	35.2
1984	3828	34.8
1985	3785	34.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 154, "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1985 (Advanced Data from the March 1986 Current Population Survey)," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., August 1986, table 21, page 32; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 152, "Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1984," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1986, table 5, page 22, adjusted for inflation in 1985 over 1984 by CPI(U). Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

Poverty

Number of Children Living in Families With Incomes
Below Half of Poverty Level, by Type of Family,
and Age and Race of Child, 1979 and 1984

		Black		White		Total	
		Children	% of	Children	% of	Children	% of
		Children	Black	Children	White	Children	All
		Children	Children	Children	Children	Children	Children
All Children Under 18:							
Female-Headed, 1984	1984	1,805,000	55.8	1,554,000	46.0	3,423,000	50.5
		1,173,000	41.1	898,000	35.1	2,111,000	38.3
All Other, 1984	1984	361,000	33.3	1,443,000	30.6	1,935,000	31.4
		248,000	29.4	954,000	29.8	1,287,000	30.5
Total Families, 1984	1984	2,166,000	50.1	2,997,000	37.1	5,358,000	41.4
		1,421,000	38.5	1,852,000	32.2	3,398,000	34.9
All Children Under 6:							
Female-Headed, 1984	1984	685,000	58.8	626,000	51.4	1,335,000	54.9
		491,000	51.0	344,000	40.5	849,000	46.0
All Other, 1984	1984	143,000	32.4	537,000	28.0	739,000	29.5
		70,000	26.2	334,000	28.5	436,000	29.0
Total Families, 1984	1984	827,000	51.5	1,162,000	37.1	2,074,000	42.0
		561,000	45.6	678,000	33.6	1,285,000	38.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 152, "Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1984," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1986, table 6, pages 23-24, and the corresponding volume for 1979.

UNITED STATES HEALTH DATA

Fact Sheet, 1984

Births	White	Nonwhite		Total
		Black	Total	
To all women	2,923,502	592,745	745,639	3,669,141
To all women age 19 and under	324,912	140,112	154,735	479,647
To women under age 15	3,959	5,720	6,006	9,965

Teen Births

(As percentage of all births)

To women age 19 and under	11.1%	23.6%	20.8%	13.1%
To women under age 15	0.1	1.0	0.8	0.3

Low-Birthweight Births

Percentage of births that are low birthweight:

To all women	5.6%	12.4%	11.1%	6.7%
To women age 19 and under	7.7	13.6	13.1	9.4

Percentage of all low-birthweight births:

To women age 19 and under	15.3%	26.0%	24.4%	18.4%
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Prenatal Care

Percentage of babies born to women who began prenatal care in the first trimester:

To all women	79.6%	62.2%	64.1%	76.5%
To women age 19 and under	56.7	47.0	47.3	53.7

Percentage of babies born to women who began prenatal care in the third trimester or not at all:

To all women	4.7%	9.6%	9.3%	5.6%
To women age 19 and under	10.9	14.0	14.1	11.9

Infant Mortality

Infant deaths per 1,000 live births

Total infant deaths	9.4	18.4	16.1	10.8
Neonatal deaths	6.2	11.8	10.2	7.0
Postneonatal deaths	3.3	6.5	5.8	3.8

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Maternal and Child Health

Infant Mortality Rates
1950-1985
Selected Countries

Country	1950-1955		1955-1960		1960-1965		1965-1970		1970-1975		1975-1980		1980-1985		% Change 1950-55 to 1980-85
	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	Rate	Rank	
Australia	24	(4)	21	(5)	20	(6)	18	(9)	17	(14)	12	(10)	10	(12)	-58
Belgium	45	(14)	35	(14)	27	(14)	23	(16)	19	(18)	13	(12)	11	(17)	-76
Canada	36	(11)	30	(11)	26	(13)	21	(11)	16	(9)	12	(10)	9	(9)	-75
Denmark	28	(8)	23	(6)	20	(6)	16	(6)	12	(2)	9	(2)	8	(5)	-71
Finland	34	(10)	25	(9)	19	(5)	15	(5)	12	(2)	9	(2)	6	(1)	-82
France	45	(14)	33	(12)	25	(11)	21	(11)	16	(9)	11	(9)	9	(9)	-80
German Dem. Rep.	58	(18)	44	(18)	31	(18)	21	(11)	17	(12)	13	(12)	11	(17)	-81
Germany, Fed. Rep.	48	(16)	37	(15)	28	(16)	23	(11)	22	(20)	15	(8)	11	(17)	-77
Hong Kong	79	(20)	54	(20)	33	(19)	23	(16)	17	(12)	13	(12)	10	(12)	-87
Iceland	21	(2)	17	(1)	17	(3)	13	(1)	12	(2)	9	(2)	6	(1)	-71
Ireland	41	(12)	34	(13)	28	(15)	23	(16)	18	(16)	15	(18)	10	(12)	-76
Japan	51	(17)	37	(15)	24	(10)	16	(6)	12	(2)	9	(2)	6	(1)	-88
Luxembourg	43	(13)	37	(15)	29	(17)	21	(11)	16	(9)	13	(12)	9	(9)	-79
Netherlands	24	(4)	19	(3)	16	(2)	14	(3)	12	(2)	10	(7)	8	(5)	-67
Norway	23	(3)	20	(4)	17	(3)	14	(3)	12	(2)	9	(2)	8	(5)	-65
Spain	62	(19)	51	(19)	42	(20)	33	(20)	21	(19)	16	(20)	10	(12)	-84
Sweden	20	(1)	17	(1)	15	(1)	13	(1)	10	(1)	8	(1)	7	(4)	-65
Switzerland	29	(9)	23	(6)	20	(6)	17	(8)	13	(8)	10	(7)	8	(5)	-72
United Kingdom	28	(6)	24	(8)	22	(9)	19	(10)	17	(14)	14	(16)	10	(12)	-64
United States	28	(6)	26	(10)	25	(11)	22	(16)	18	(16)	14	(16)	11	(17)	-61

(Rates are rounded to the nearest whole number)

Source: United Nation's Children's Fund

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Maternal and Child Health

Infant Mortality Rates, by Race, U.S., 1940-1984

Year	All Races	White	Nonwhite		Ratio of Black to White
			Black	Total	
1940	47.0	43.2	72.9	73.8	1.69
1941	45.3	41.2	74.1	74.8	1.80
1942	40.4	37.3	64.2	64.6	1.72
1943	40.4	37.5	61.5	62.5	1.64
1944	39.8	36.9	59.3	60.3	1.61
1945	38.3	35.6	56.2	57.0	1.58
1946	33.8	31.8	48.8	49.5	1.53
1947	32.2	30.1	47.7	48.5	1.58
1948	32.0	29.9	45.7	46.5	1.53
1949	31.3	28.9	46.8	47.3	1.62
1950	29.2	26.8	43.9	44.5	1.64
1951	28.4	25.8	44.3	44.8	1.72
1952	28.4	25.5	46.9	47.0	1.84
1953	27.8	25.0	44.5	44.7	1.78
1954	26.6	23.9	42.9	42.9	1.79
1955	26.4	23.6	43.1	42.8	1.83
1956	26.0	23.2	42.4	42.1	1.83
1957	26.3	23.3	44.2	43.7	1.90
1958	27.1	23.8	46.3	45.7	1.95
1959	26.4	23.2	44.8	44.0	1.93
1960	26.0	22.9	44.3	43.2	1.93
1961	25.3	22.4	41.8	40.7	1.87
1962	25.3	22.3	42.6	41.4	1.91
1963	25.2	22.2	42.8	41.5	1.93
1964	24.8	21.6	42.3	41.1	1.96
1965	24.7	21.5	41.7	40.3	1.94
1966	23.7	20.6	40.2	38.8	1.95
1967	22.4	19.7	37.5	35.9	1.90
1968	21.8	19.2	36.2	34.5	1.89
1969	20.9	18.4	34.8	32.9	1.89
1970	20.0	17.8	32.6	30.9	1.83
1971	19.1	17.1	30.3	28.5	1.77
1972	18.5	16.4	29.6	27.7	1.80
1973	17.7	15.8	28.1	26.2	1.78
1974	16.7	14.8	26.8	24.9	1.81
1975	16.1	14.2	26.2	24.2	1.85
1976	15.2	13.3	25.5	23.5	1.92
1977	14.1	12.3	23.6	21.7	1.92
1978	13.8	12.0	23.1	21.1	1.93
1979	13.1	11.4	21.8	19.8	1.91
1980	12.6	11.0	21.4	19.1	1.95
1981	11.9	10.5	20.0	17.8	1.90
1982	11.5	10.1	19.6	17.3	1.94
1983	11.2	9.7	19.2	16.8	1.98
1984	10.8	9.4	18.4	16.1	1.96

Source: National Center for Health Statistics

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Maternal and Child Health

Infant Mortality Rate, Total, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	North Dakota	8.1
2	Maine	8.4
3	Vermont	8.7
4	Iowa	8.8
5	Montana	8.8
6	Minnesota	8.9
7	Massachusetts	9.0
8	Utah	9.1
9	California	9.4
10	Arizona	9.5
11	New Mexico	9.6
12	Nebraska	9.6
13	Idaho	9.8
14	Oregon	9.9
15	Rhode Island	9.9
16	Hawaii	9.9
17	Wisconsin	9.9
18	South Dakota	10.0
19	Kansas	10.1
20	Colorado	10.2
21	New Hampshire	10.2
22	Washington	10.2
23	Connecticut	10.4
24	Missouri	10.4
25	Pennsylvania	10.4
26	Ohio	10.4
27	Texas	10.5
28	Nevada	10.5
29	Delaware	10.8
30	Florida	10.8
31	Arkansas	10.9
32	New Jersey	10.9
33	Oklahoma	11.0
34	West Virginia	11.0
35	New York	11.0
36	Wyoming	11.1
37	Indiana	11.1
38	Alaska	11.2
39	Kentucky	11.5
40	Michigan	11.7
41	Maryland	11.8
42	Tennessee	11.8
43	Louisiana	12.1
44	Illinois	12.1
45	Virginia	12.1
46	North Carolina	12.4
47	Georgia	12.9
48	Alabama	12.9
49	Mississippi	14.4
50	South Carolina	14.7
51	District of Columbia	21.0
	United States	10.8

Infant Mortality Rate, Black, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Massachusetts	14.2
2	Oklahoma	14.8
3	California	15.6
4	Texas	15.8
5	New York	16.2
6	Arkansas	16.7
7	Arizona	16.9
8	Colorado	17.0
9	Maryland	17.0
10	Louisiana	17.4
11	Ohio	17.7
12	Missouri	18.3
13	Florida	18.4
14	New Jersey	18.4
15	Kentucky	18.4
16	Kansas	18.5
17	Georgia	18.5
18	Wisconsin	18.7
19	North Carolina	18.8
20	Tennessee	18.9
21	Indiana	19.1
22	Alabama	19.2
23	Connecticut	19.3
24	Delaware	19.4
25	Mississippi	19.5
26	Virginia	19.6
27	South Carolina	20.7
28	Washington	21.3
29	Pennsylvania	21.3
30	Illinois	22.0
31	Michigan	23.5
32	District of Columbia	24.3
	United States	18.4

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Maternal and Child Health

Infant Mortality Rates, Cities with 500,000+ Population, by Race,* 1984

	White	Nonwhite		Total
		Black	Total	
Baltimore	13.2	18.7	18.5	16.8
Boston	10.4	14.6	13.4	11.7
Chicago	11.1	22.6	21.5	16.5
Cleveland	10.2	23.2	23.0	16.8
Columbus	8.3	13.5	12.8	9.6
Dallas	9.7	15.7	15.2	11.7
Detroit	13.8	23.7	23.3	20.9
District of Columbia	—	24.3	24.1	21.0
Houston	10.6	16.7	14.6	11.9
Indianapolis	9.4	24.5	23.6	13.3
Jacksonville	9.5	16.8	16.3	11.9
Los Angeles	9.2	19.9	15.6	11.0
Memphis	7.8	19.3	19.2	14.8
Milwaukee	11.7	18.5	18.1	14.2
New Orleans	—	18.5	17.9	16.0
New York City	11.7	15.6	14.6	13.0
Philadelphia	9.2	22.3	21.8	15.5
Phoenix	9.4	—	—	9.9
San Antonio	12.5	—	—	12.8
San Diego	8.8	18.1	11.9	9.7
San Francisco	8.5	—	9.0	8.8
San Jose	8.3	—	—	7.9

* The following cities were not ranked because there were too few infant deaths to calculate a reliable rate: for whites, the District of Columbia and New Orleans; for blacks, Phoenix, San Antonio, San Francisco, and San Jose; for all nonwhites, Phoenix, San Antonio, and San Jose.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Maternal and Child Health

Percentage of Infants Born at Low Birthweight,
by Race, U.S., Selected Years, 1950-1984

Year	All Races	White	Nonwhite		Ratio of Black to White
			Black	Total	
1950	7.5	7.1	—	10.2	—
1955	7.6	6.8	—	11.7	—
1960	7.7	6.8	—	12.8	—
1961	7.8	6.9	—	13.0	—
1962	8.0	7.0	—	13.1	—
1963	8.2	7.1	—	13.6	—
1964	8.2	7.1	—	13.9	—
1965	8.3	7.2	—	13.8	—
1966	8.3	7.2	—	13.9	—
1967	8.2	7.1	—	13.6	—
1968	8.2	7.1	—	13.7	—
1969	8.1	7.0	14.1	13.5	2.01
1970	7.9	6.8	13.9	13.3	2.04
1971	7.7	6.6	13.4	12.7	2.03
1972	7.7	6.5	13.6	12.9	2.09
1973	7.6	6.4	13.3	12.5	2.08
1974	7.4	6.3	13.1	12.4	2.08
1975	7.4	6.3	13.1	12.2	2.08
1976	7.3	6.1	13.0	12.1	2.13
1977	7.1	5.9	12.8	11.9	2.17
1978	7.1	5.9	12.8	11.9	2.17
1979	6.9	5.8	12.6	11.6	2.17
1980	6.8	5.7	12.5	11.5	2.19
1981	6.8	5.7	12.5	11.4	2.19
1982	6.8	5.6	12.4	11.2	2.21
1983	6.8	5.6	12.6	11.2	2.25
1984	6.7	5.6	12.4	11.1	2.21

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

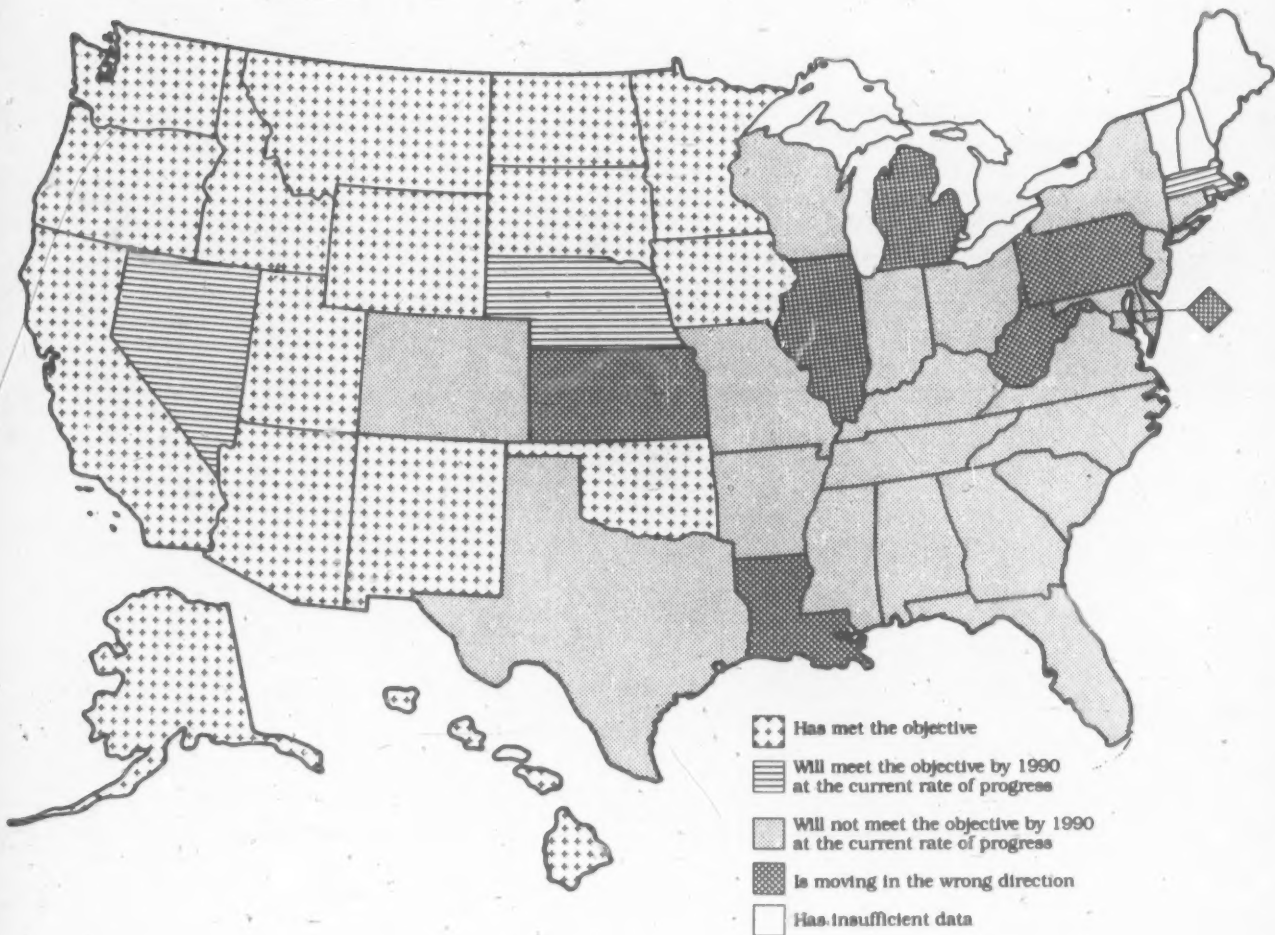
Percentage of Infants Born at Very Low Birthweight,
by Race, U.S., 1979-1984

Year	All Races	White	Black
1979	1.15	0.90	2.35
1980	1.15	0.90	2.43
1981	1.16	0.90	2.47
1982	1.17	0.91	2.51
1983	1.18	0.93	2.54
1984	1.19	0.92	2.56

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

Maternal and Child Health

Progress Toward the Low Birthweight Goal, Nonwhite, 1984



CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Maternal and Child Health

Percentage of Babies Born to Women Receiving
First Trimester Care, by Race, U.S., 1969-1984

Year	All Races	White	Nonwhite	
			Black	Total
1969	68.0	72.4	42.7	44.5
1970	67.9	72.4	44.3	46.0
1971	68.6	73.0	46.6	48.1
1972	69.4	73.6	49.0	50.6
1973	70.8	74.9	51.4	52.9
1974	72.1	75.9	53.9	55.3
1975	72.3	75.9	55.8	57.0
1976	73.5	76.8	57.7	58.8
1977	74.1	77.3	59.0	60.1
1978	74.9	78.2	60.2	61.4
1979	75.9	79.1	61.6	62.9
1980	76.3	79.3	62.7	63.8
1981	76.3	79.4	62.4	63.8
1982	76.1	79.3	61.5	63.2
1983	76.2	79.4	61.5	63.4
1984	76.5	79.6	62.2	64.1

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

Percentage of Babies Born to Women Receiving Late
or No Prenatal Care, by Race, U.S., 1969-1984

Year	All Races	White	Nonwhite	
			Black	Total
1969	8.1	6.3	18.2	17.7
1970	7.9	6.2	16.6	16.2
1971	7.2	5.8	14.6	14.1
1972	7.0	5.5	13.2	13.1
1973	6.7	5.4	12.4	12.3
1974	6.2	5.0	11.4	11.2
1975	6.0	5.0	10.5	10.4
1976	5.7	4.8	9.9	9.8
1977	5.6	4.7	9.6	9.5
1978	5.4	4.5	9.3	9.1
1979	5.1	4.3	8.9	8.8
1980	5.1	4.3	8.8	8.8
1981	5.2	4.3	9.1	8.9
1982	5.5	4.5	9.6	9.3
1983	5.6	4.6	9.7	9.4
1984	5.6	4.7	9.6	9.3

Note: Late care is defined as starting in the third trimester.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Maternal and Child Health

Percent of Births by Timing of Mother's Entry into Prenatal Care, Total, 1984

Early Care

Late or No Care

Rank	State Name	Rate	Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Connecticut	85.6	1	Iowa	2.2
2	Massachusetts	85.6	2	Rhode Island	2.2
3	Rhode Island	85.5	3	New Hampshire	2.3
4	Iowa	85.3	4	Massachusetts	2.3
5	New Hampshire	84.6	5	Maine	2.4
6	Wisconsin	84.1	6	Wisconsin	2.6
7	Maine	82.8	7	Connecticut	2.6
8	Vermont	82.3	8	Vermont	2.7
9	North Dakota	82.0	9	North Dakota	2.7
10	New Jersey	82.0	10	Michigan	3.0
11	Utah	82.0	11	Utah	3.1
12	Ohio	81.7	12	Nebraska	3.5
13	Kansas	81.5	13	Minnesota	3.6
14	Michigan	81.4	14	Ohio	3.6
15	Wyoming	80.6	15	Kansas	3.7
16	Virginia	80.3	16	Delaware	3.7
17	Nebraska	79.9	17	Virginia	3.8
18	Missouri	79.9	18	North Carolina	3.9
19	Minnesota	79.9	19	Maryland	4.0
20	Maryland	79.3	20	Missouri	4.0
21	Montana	79.0	21	New Jersey	4.0
22	Pennsylvania	78.9	22	Wyoming	4.1
23	North Carolina	78.2	23	Montana	4.2
24	Washington	78.1	24	Mississippi	4.4
25	Indiana	78.0	25	Illinois	4.4
26	Delaware	78.0	26	Pennsylvania	4.4
27	Illinois	77.9	27	Indiana	4.4
28	Louisiana	77.6	28	Hawaii	4.7
29	Colorado	77.2	29	Louisiana	4.8
30	Oregon	77.1	30	Alaska	4.8
31	California	76.9	31	Idaho	4.8
32	Idaho	76.5	32	Washington	5.0
33	Georgia	75.8	33	Georgia	5.1
34	Hawaii	75.8	34	California	5.1
35	Nevada	75.8	35	Oregon	5.2
36	Tennessee	75.7	36	Tennessee	5.3
37	Alaska	75.7	37	Kentucky	5.3
38	Kentucky	75.6	38	Colorado	5.4
39	Mississippi	74.8	39	Alabama	5.9
40	Alabama	73.6	40	Nevada	6.0
41	South Dakota	72.7	41	West Virginia	6.3
42	New York	72.2	42	South Dakota	6.6
43	Arizona	71.7	43	South Carolina	7.7
44	West Virginia	71.2	44	Arkansas	7.9
45	Oklahoma	69.4	45	Arizona	8.2
46	Arkansas	68.9	46	Oklahoma	8.5
47	Texas	68.1	47	Florida	8.9
48	Florida	67.7	48	New York	9.2
49	South Carolina	67.6	49	District of Columbia	10.0
50	New Mexico	61.2	50	Texas	10.6
51	District of Columbia	60.3	51	New Mexico	13.2
	United States	76.5		United States	5.6

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Maternal and Child Health

Percent of Births by Timing of Mother's Entry into Prenatal Care, Black, 1984

Early Care			Late or No Care		
Rank	State Name	Rate	Rank	State Name	Rate
1	New Hampshire	81.0	1	Hawaii	3.8
2	Wyoming	79.8	2	Massachusetts	4.4
3	Montana	79.7	3	Iowa	4.5
4	Massachusetts	75.5	4	California	5.4
5	Maine	74.3	5	Michigan	5.5
6	North Dakota	74.2	6	Rhode Island	5.6
7	Iowa	73.3	7	Virginia	6.2
8	Hawaii	73.0	8	Kansas	6.4
9	Michigan	72.3	9	Mississippi	6.4
10	Rhode Island	71.9	10	Wisconsin	6.5
11	California	71.9	11	Delaware	6.7
12	Idaho	71.8	12	Connecticut	6.8
13	Kansas	70.1	13	North Carolina	7.2
14	Alaska	69.8	14	Missouri	7.3
15	Colorado	69.7	15	Maryland	7.3
16	Wisconsin	68.5	16	Illinois	7.5
17	Virginia	68.0	17	Georgia	7.5
18	New Jersey	67.9	18	Louisiana	7.8
19	Utah	67.7	19	New Jersey	8.0
20	Missouri	67.1	20	Colorado	8.0
21	Ohio	66.8	21	Oregon	8.5
22	Connecticut	66.3	22	Ohio	8.5
23	Washington	65.7	23	Nevada	8.8
24	Illinois	65.3	24	Nebraska	8.9
25	Maryland	65.2	25	Tennessee	8.9
26	Oregon	65.2	26	Alabama	9.5
27	Arizona	64.9	27	Arizona	9.5
28	Louisiana	64.8	28	Washington	9.5
29	North Carolina	64.8	29	Indiana	9.8
30	Delaware	64.4	30	Kentucky	10.0
31	Mississippi	63.5	31	Minnesota	10.6
32	Minnesota	63.4	32	Pennsylvania	11.1
33	Georgia	63.2	33	District of Columbia	11.4
34	South Dakota	63.0	34	West Virginia	12.2
35	Tennessee	62.7	35	South Carolina	12.5
36	Nevada	62.4	36	Texas	12.7
37	Nebraska	61.6	37	Arkansas	12.7
38	Kentucky	61.1	38	Florida	14.3
39	Pennsylvania	59.0	39	New Mexico	14.5
40	Alabama	58.8	40	Oklahoma	15.4
41	Indiana	58.5	41	New York	19.2
42	Texas	58.2			
43	District of Columbia	56.7		United States	9.6
44	West Virginia	53.9			
45	South Carolina	53.5			
46	Arkansas	53.2			
47	New Mexico	52.7			
48	Oklahoma	51.4			
49	New York	50.6			
50	Florida	50.1			
	United States	62.2			

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Earnings

Median Weekly Earnings of Full-time Wage and Salary Workers Age 16 through 24 As a Percentage of Older Workers' Earnings, by Sex, 1967-1986

Year	Time Period	Men	Women
1967	May	74.0%	93.7%
1969	May	73.0	93.2
1970	May	70.0	91.7
1971	May	66.3	87.4
1972	May	66.3	87.3
1973	May	67.0	85.1
1974	May	66.7	84.7
1975	May	64.3	80.1
1976	May	63.6	81.2
1977	May	61.8	80.6
1978	May	63.1	81.1
1979	Annual	64.5	77.6
1980	Annual	60.1	79.8
1981	Annual	59.1	77.6
1982	Annual	56.4	75.1
1983	Annual	55.1	76.4
1984	Annual	54.7	72.0
1985	Annual	54.3	70.9
1986	3rd quarter	51.4	68.6

Note: Data prior to 1979 based on May earnings; data from 1979 through 1985 are annual earnings; and data for 1986 are the average of July, August, and September earnings.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, press release USDL 86-434, "Weekly Earnings of Wage and Salary Workers: Third Quarter 1986," October 29, 1986, table 2; Bulletin 2217, "Handbook of Labor Statistics," June 1985, table 41, page 94; and Bulletin 2070, "Handbook of Labor Statistics," December 1980, table 60, page 118. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Earnings

Third-Quarter, 1986 Median Weekly Earnings of Full-Time Wage and Salary Workers Age 16 through 24 As a Percentage of Older Workers' Earnings, by Sex, Race, and Ethnicity

	Full-Time Workers Age 16-24	Full-Time Workers Age 25-up	Under 25 as a % of Age 25-up
White	\$225	\$402	56.0%
Male	242	476	50.8
Female	212	315	67.3
Black	202	307	65.8
Male	203	349	58.2
Female	200	273	73.3
Hispanic	207	296	69.9
Male	213	326	65.3
Female	192	248	77.4
Total	223	390	57.2
Male	237	461	51.4
Female	212	309	68.6

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, press release USDL 86-434, "Weekly Earnings of Wage and Salary Workers: Third Quarter 1986," October 29, 1986, table 2. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Earnings

Full-Year, Full-Time Earnings at the Hourly Minimum Wage Rate as a Percent of the Three-Person Poverty Level, 1959-1987

Year	Hourly Minimum Wage Rate	Annual Wages, for 50 Weeks, 40 hrs	Three-Person Family Poverty Level	Annual Wages as a % of Poverty
1962	\$1.15	\$2,300	\$2,412	95.4%
1963	1.15	2,300	2,442	94.2
1964	1.25	2,500	2,413	103.6
1965	1.25	2,500	2,514	99.4
1966	1.25	2,500	2,600	96.2
1967	1.40	2,800	2,661	105.2
1968	1.60	3,200	2,774	115.4
1969	1.60	3,200	2,924	109.4
1970	1.60	3,200	3,099	103.3
1971	1.60	3,200	3,229	99.1
1972	1.60	3,200	3,339	95.8
1973	1.60	3,200	3,548	90.2
1974	2.00	4,000	3,936	101.6
1975	2.10	4,200	4,293	97.8
1976	2.30	4,600	4,540	101.3
1977	2.30	4,600	4,833	95.2
1978	2.65	5,300	5,201	101.9
1979	2.90	5,800	5,784	100.3
1980	3.10	6,200	6,565	94.4
1981	3.35	6,700	7,250	92.4
1982	3.35	6,700	7,693	87.1
1983	3.35	6,700	7,938	84.4
1984	3.35	6,700	8,277	80.9
1985	3.35	6,700	8,573	78.2
1986	3.35	6,700	8,738 ^a	76.7
1987	3.35	6,700	9,000 ^a	74.4

^aEstimated.

Note: Minimum wage rates shown are those in effect for the greater part of each year; i.e., those in effect before July for the year. Poverty levels for 1986 and 1987 are estimates, including 3 percent inflation in 1987.

Source: Social Security Administration, Social Security Bulletin, Annual Statistical Supplement, 1983, Washington, D.C., 1986, table 7, page 65; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1986 (106th edition), Washington, D.C., table 710, page 422. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Earnings

Percent of Workers Paid on an Hourly Basis Who Earned the Minimum Wage or Less in 1979 and 1985, and the Percent in 1985 Earning Less Than \$4.00, Below the Inflation-Adjusted Value of the 1979 Minimum Wage

Race, Sex, & Age Group	1979 \$2.90 or Less Hourly	1985 \$3.35 or Less Hourly	1985 Under \$4.00 Hourly
All Ages	13.3%	9.9%	19.1%
Male	7.7	6.9	14.4
Female	20.2	13.2	25.6
White	12.8	9.6	18.6
Black	16.9	12.1	22.4
Hispanic	---	10.4	20.7
Age 16-19	37.3	35.8	62.7
Male	29.5	30.5	50.7
Female	45.9	41.2	70.2
White	36.3	35.4	62.1
Black	48.7	41.8	70.2
Hispanic	---	33.6	60.8
Age 20-24	13.7	13.4	25.9
Male	8.3	10.4	23.0
Female	20.6	16.9	32.8
White	12.9	12.7	24.6
Black	19.2	19.3	35.5
Hispanic	---	14.2	26.7
Age 25-up	8.4	5.4	11.3
Male	3.3	2.7	7.2
Female	14.6	8.4	17.5
White	7.7	5.0	10.6
Black	12.8	7.9	15.4
Hispanic	---	6.7	14.5

Note: In 1979, the minimum wage was \$2.90 per hour. In 1985 the minimum wage was \$3.35 per hour. Adjusted for inflation, the \$2.90 per hour in 1979 would be equal to approximately \$4.24 in 1985. Department of Labor data show hourly wages below \$4.00 per hour and below \$4.50 per hour. The \$4.00 figure has been used here. Hispanic persons may be of any race. Comparable Hispanic data were not tabulated for 1979 in the unpublished source.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, unpublished tabulations from the Current Population Survey. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

AFDC Recipient Children per 100 Children in Poverty, 1972-1985

Year	Number of Children on AFDC ^a	Number of Children in Poverty ^b	Rate per 100 Children in Poverty ^c
1972	7,905,000	10,082,000	78.4
1973	7,902,000	9,453,000	83.6
1974	7,822,000	9,967,000	78.5
1975	8,095,000	10,882,000	74.4
1976	8,001,000	10,081,000	79.4
1977	7,773,000	10,028,000	77.5
1978	7,402,000	9,722,000	76.1
1979	7,179,000	9,993,000	71.8
1980	7,419,000	11,114,000	66.8
1981	7,527,000	12,068,000	62.4
1982	6,903,000	13,139,000	52.5
1983	7,098,000	13,427,000	52.9
1984	7,144,000	12,929,000	55.3
1985	7,198,000	12,483,000	57.7

^aThe number of dependent children in active payment status on AFDC per month averaged over the 12 months in the calendar year.

^bThe number of related dependent children living in families with incomes below the poverty level, in the calendar year labeled.

^cThe first column divided by the second column multiplied by 100. It is not meant to imply that all or only children in poor families are eligible for AFDC benefits. Because the poverty count is based on the living arrangements of children in March of the year after the one for which family income is calculated, many children will appear above and below poverty, when that was not in fact true for the families with which children living in families below poverty are not eligible for AFDC because of state limitations on earnings and assets.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 154, "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1985 (Advance Data from the March 1986 Current Population Survey)," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., August 1986, table 16, page 22; Social Security Administration, Social Security Bulletin: Annual Supplement, 1983, Washington, D.C., 1986, table 5.3, page 248; and unpublished data from the Office of Family Assistance. Calculations by the Children's Defense Fund.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

AFDC

Monthly AFDC and Food Stamp Benefits, by State, July 1986
(Ranked by Percentage of 1986 Federal Poverty Level)

State	Maximum AFDC Benefit for a Three- Person Family ^a	Monthly Combined AFDC & Food Stamp Benefits for Three- Person Family ^b	% of Monthly Federal Poverty Level ^c	Rank ^d
Alabama	\$118	\$323.00	42.5%	48
Alaska	740	861.40	90.7	1
Arizona	293	445.50	58.6	33
Arkansas	192	374.80	49.3	43
California	617	672.30	88.5	2
Colorado	346	482.60	63.5	27
Connecticut	590	653.40	86.0	3
Delaware	298	449.00	59.1	32
District of Columbia	350	485.40	63.9	26
Florida	252	416.80	54.8	38
Georgia	256	419.60	55.2	37
Hawaii	468	696.30	79.7	7
Idaho	304	453.20	59.6	30
Illinois	341	479.10	63.0	28
Indiana	256	419.60	55.2	37
Iowa	381	507.10	66.7	19
Kansas	403	522.50	68.8	15
Kentucky	197	378.30	49.8	42
Louisiana	190	373.40	49.1	44
Maine	389	512.70	67.5	17
Maryland	345	499.60*	65.7	22
Massachusetts	476	573.60	75.5	10
Michigan	442	549.80	72.3	13
Minnesota	528	610.00	80.3	6
Mississippi	120	324.40	42.7	47
Missouri	279	435.70	57.3	35
Montana	354	488.20	64.2	25
Nebraska	350	485.40	63.9	26
Nevada	285	439.90	57.9	34
New Hampshire	397	518.30	68.2	16
New Jersey	404	523.20	68.8	14
New Mexico	258	421.00	55.4	36
New York	497	604.20*	79.5	8
North Carolina	246	412.60	54.3	40
North Dakota	371	500.10	65.8	21
Ohio	302	451.80	59.5	31
Oklahoma	310	457.40	60.2	29
Oregon	397	553.70*	72.9	12
Pennsylvania	382	507.80	66.8	18
Rhode Island	441	554.20*	72.9	11

Monthly AFDC and Food Stamp Benefits, by State, July 1986
(continued)

State	Maximum AFDC Benefit for a Three- Person Family ^a	Monthly Combined AFDC & Food Stamp Benefits for Three- Person Family ^b	% of Monthly Federal Poverty Level ^c	Rank ^d
South Carolina	199	379.70	50.0	41
South Dakota	366	496.60	65.3	23
Tennessee	155	348.90	45.9	46
Texas	184	369.20	48.6	45
Utah	376	503.60	66.3	20
Vermont	572	640.80	84.3	4
Virginia	354	488.20	64.2	25
Washington	492	598.60*	78.8	9
West Virginia	249	414.70	54.6	39
Wisconsin	544	621.20	81.7	5
Wyoming	360	492.40	64.8	24

^aThe maximum AFDC benefit is the amount paid for a one-parent family of three persons with zero countable income. In states with area differentials in benefits, the figure shown is generally for the area with the highest benefit. An exception is made in New York and Michigan where the benefit levels used are those paid in New York City and Wayne County (Detroit) respectively. The July 1986 maximum benefit levels were obtained from a July 31, 1986 Analysis of AFDC prepared by Carmen D. Solomon, Education and Public Welfare Division, Congressional Research Service, The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

^bFood stamp calculations were done by the Children's Defense Fund and are based on maximum AFDC benefits for a three-person nonworking family as shown, assuming the standard deduction of \$98. They take into account the fact that food stamps are reduced \$.30 for every dollar of AFDC income. Maximum monthly food stamp benefits for a family of three in July 1986 were \$211 in all states and the District of Columbia, except Alaska and Hawaii where they were \$293 and \$327 respectively.

*In the five states where part of the AFDC payment is designated as energy aid, this amount is disregarded for food stamp purposes. The five states are Maryland, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Washington.

^cThe 1986 monthly federal poverty level used by the Office of Management and Budget for a family of three of \$760.00 was used for all states (except Alaska and Hawaii) and the District of Columbia. The 1986 monthly federal poverty level for a three person family in Alaska was \$950.00 and in Hawaii \$874.17. Calculations were by the Children's Defense Fund.

^dStates with the same combined AFDC and Food Stamp benefit are given the same rank.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

AFDC

Status of State Choices Regarding Optional AFDC Coverage Groups, 1986

	AFDC for Pregnant Women With No Other Children		AFDC for Poor Two- Parent Unemployed Families ^c	AFDC for Students Age 18 ^d
	Beginning in 6th month or later in pregnancy ^a	Maximum special allowance with AFDC ^b		
Alabama	No		No	No
Alaska	7th	\$20/mo.	No	No
Arizona	6th		No	Yes
Arkansas	No		No	No
California	6th	\$70/mo.	Yes	Yes
Colorado	6th	\$ 5/mo.	No	Yes
Connecticut	6th		Yes	Yes
Delaware	9th		Yes	No
District of Columbia	6th		Yes	Yes
Florida	6th		No	No
Georgia	No		No	No
Hawaii	6th		Yes	Yes
Idaho	6th		No	Yes
Illinois	6th		Yes	Yes
Indiana	No		No	No
Iowa	No		Yes	Yes
Kansas	6th		Yes	Yes
Kentucky	No		No	Yes
Louisiana	6th		No	Yes
Maine	No		Yes	Yes
Maryland	6th		Yes	Yes
Massachusetts	6th		Yes	Yes
Michigan	6th	\$14/mo.	Yes	Yes
Minnesota	7th		Yes	Yes
Mississippi	No		No	No
Missouri	No		Yes	Yes
Montana	6th		No	Yes
Nebraska	6th	\$70/mo.	Yes	Yes
Nevada	6th		No	Yes
New Hampshire	No		No	Yes
New Jersey	No		Yes	Yes
New Mexico	6th		No	Yes
New York	6th	\$50/mo.	Yes	Yes
North Carolina	6th		No	Yes
North Dakota	6th		No	Yes
Ohio	6th	\$20/mo.	Yes	Yes
Oklahoma	No		No	Yes
Oregon	9th		Yes	Yes
Pennsylvania	6th		Yes	Yes
Rhode Island	6th		Yes	Yes

Status of State Choices Regarding Optional AFDC Coverage
Groups, 1986
(continued)

AFDC for Pregnant Women With No Other Children		AFDC for Poor Two- Parent Unemployed Families ^c	AFDC for Students Age 18 ^d
Beginning in 6th month or later in pregnancy ^a	Maximum special allowance with AFDC ^b		
South Carolina	No	Yes	Yes
South Dakota	No	No	Yes
Tennessee	7th	No	No
Texas	No	No	Yes
Utah	6th	No	Yes
Vermont	6th	Yes	No
Virginia	No	No	Yes
Washington	6th	Yes	Yes
West Virginia	No	Yes	No
Wisconsin	7th	Yes	Yes
Wyoming	7th	No	Yes

^aFederal matching payments for AFDC for pregnant women with no other children are available no earlier than the sixth month of a medically verified pregnancy. States have the option of providing AFDC beginning in the sixth month or later, or not at all. Eight states and the District of Columbia also use state funds to provide cash assistance at the AFDC rate prior to the sixth month. The eight states are California, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New York, Rhode Island, and Washington.

^bStates have the option of providing special allowances to AFDC recipients to assist with expenses related to their pregnancy. The amounts listed are the maximum monthly allowances offered by the states for special nutritional needs related to pregnancy or other special pregnancy-related expenses.

^cStates have the option of providing AFDC to otherwise eligible two-parent families where the principal earner is unemployed or working less than 100 hours a week, and meets the program's prior work history requirements.

^dEligibility for AFDC generally ends on a child's eighteenth birthday. However, states have the option of providing AFDC to children to age 19 provided they are full-time students in a secondary school or equivalent technical program and expected to complete the program before reaching age 19.

Source: Data on AFDC coverage for pregnant women obtained from Children's Defense Fund telephone survey of state AFDC staff conducted in September-October 1986. The status of other coverage was taken from preliminary material for the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Characteristics of State Plans for Aid to Families With Dependent Children, 1986 Edition, and updated where later information was available.

Nutrition

Percent of WIC Financially Eligible
Population Served, 1986

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Vermont	76.5
2	Connecticut	65.3
3	Wyoming	62.8
4	Mississippi	57.1
5	Ohio	56.9
6	Nevada	53.2
7	Rhode Island	50.1
8	District of Columbia	49.8
9	Georgia	49.7
10	New Hampshire	49.4
11	Minnesota	48.7
12	Wisconsin	48.3
13	Illinois	47.6
14	Pennsylvania	47.4
15	Michigan	46.1
16	North Carolina	43.2
17	West Virginia	42.7
18	Iowa	42.0
19	Massachusetts	41.5
20	Louisiana	41.1
21	New York	40.8
22	Alabama	40.7
23	Maryland	40.7
24	Maine	40.6
25	North Dakota	40.4
26	South Carolina	39.5
27	Kansas	39.2
28	Delaware	39.1
29	Tennessee	39.0
30	Virginia	39.0
31	Montana	38.6
32	Kentucky	38.1
33	New Jersey	37.9
34	Colorado	37.3
35	Texas	36.5
36	Oklahoma	36.0
37	Indiana	35.8
38	Oregon	35.1
39	Florida	34.8
40	Missouri	34.5
41	Nebraska	33.8
42	Arkansas	32.8
43	South Dakota	32.4
44	Washington	31.5
45	California	31.1
46	Utah	31.1
47	Arizona	28.4
48	Idaho	28.1
49	Alaska	27.6
50	New Mexico	24.9
51	Hawaii	22.7
	United States	40.4

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Education

Percent of Recent 16- to 24-Year-Old High School Graduates Who Were Enrolled in College, by Race, 1977-1985

Enrolled in College in October:	Total	White	Black	Hispanic
1977	51%	51%	50%	51%
1978	50	50	46	43
1979	49	50	46	45
1980	49	50	43	53
1981	54	55	43	52
1982	51	52	36	43
1983	53	55	39	54
1984	55	58	40	44
1985	58	59	42	51

Note: Hispanic graduates may be of any race. The number of Hispanic graduates in the sample is too small for reliable estimation.

Source: Sharon R. Cohany, "What happened to the high school class of 1985?", Monthly Labor Review, volume 109, number 10, table 2, page 29 (October 1986); Anne McDougall Young, "Fewer students in work force as school age population declines," Monthly Labor Review, volume 106, number 8, table 5, page 32 (August 1983); corrected and unpublished data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Chapter I Recipient Children per 100 School-Age Children in Poverty, 1980-1985

Year	Chapter I Recipient Children	School-Age Children (5-17) Living in Poverty ^a	Chapter I Recipients per 100 Poor School-Age Children
1980	5,402,000	7,187,000	75
1981	5,301,000	8,069,000	66
1982	4,866,000	8,682,000	56
1983	4,750,000	9,407,000	50
1984	4,846,000	9,334,000	52
1985	4,920,000	9,140,000	54

^aCounted in March of year stated on basis of income in previous calendar year.

Youth Employment

Percentages of Persons Ages 19-23 Who Are
Out of School Without a High School Diploma
and Are Jobless, by Basic Skills Ranking, 1981

Percentile in Basic Skills	Percent Dropouts	Percent Jobless
1-5	75.8%	34.5%
6-10	58.2	27.0
11-15	45.8	17.4
16-25	36.2	21.8
26-35	24.8	14.6
36-45	20.3	11.1
46-55	13.3	10.8
56-65	9.4	9.6
66-75	8.4	8.1
76-85	3.1	5.4
86-95	2.9	4.8
96-100	1.5	4.3

Source: Data from National Longitudinal Survey of Young Americans; analyses by Dr. Andrew Sum, Center for Labor Market Studies, Northeastern University.

Percentages of Youths Ages 16-19
Who Are Employed, by Race

Year	White	Black	Hispanic
1978	52.4%	25.2%	39.3%
1979	52.6	25.4	40.6
1980	50.7	23.9	39.0
1981	48.7	22.1	35.2
1982	45.8	19.0	31.4
1983	45.9	18.7	32.5
1984	48.0	21.9	35.9
1985	48.5	24.6	33.7
Nov. 1986 ^a	46.2	23.3	33.6

^aNovember 1986 rates are not seasonally adjusted.

Youth Employment

Official Youth Unemployment Rates by State, 1985

State	Rate	State	Rate
Alabama	21.1	Missouri	14.9
Alaska	21.9	Montana	18.8
Arizona	13.3	Nebraska	15.5
Arkansas	28.7	Nevada	21.2
California	20.1	New Hampshire	10.4
Colorado	16.7	New Jersey	14.8
Connecticut	14.7	New Mexico	22.5
Delaware	14.6	New York	18.8
District of Columbia	31.6	North Carolina	15.0
Florida	17.7	North Dakota	16.5
Georgia	20.6	Ohio	19.1
Hawaii	19.8	Oklahoma	19.3
Idaho	14.7	Oregon	18.2
Illinois	19.9	Pennsylvania	18.2
Indiana	19.6	Rhode Island	15.4
Iowa	18.3	South Carolina	20.9
Kansas	13.0	South Dakota	10.6
Kentucky	25.3	Tennessee	24.2
Louisiana	27.9	Texas	20.0
Maine	13.5	Utah	14.4
Maryland	14.6	Vermont	15.7
Massachusetts	9.4	Virginia	21.3
Michigan	22.2	Washington	21.1
Minnesota	12.5	West Virginia	26.1
Mississippi	26.4	Wisconsin	14.5
		Wyoming	20.1

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Adolescent Pregnancy

Birth Rates by Age of Mother
and Race/Ethnicity of Child, 1970-1984
(Births per 1,000)

Race/Ethnicity and Year	Under 15	Total 15-19	15-17	18-19	20-24
All Races					
1970	1.2	68.3	38.8	114.7	167.8
1980	1.1	53.0	32.5	82.1	115.1
1984	1.2	50.9	31.1	78.3	107.3
White					
1970	0.5	57.4	29.2	101.5	163.4
1980	0.6	44.7	25.2	72.1	109.5
1984	0.6	42.5	23.9	68.1	101.4
Black					
1970	5.2	147.7	101.4	204.9	202.7
1980	4.3	100.0	73.6	138.8	146.3
1984	4.3	95.7	69.7	132.0	137.9
Hispanic					
1980	1.7	82.2	52.2	126.9	156.4
Mexican	1.9	95.6	---	---	176.8
Puerto Rican	2.3	83.0	---	---	133.3
Cuban	0.3	25.3	---	---	80.2
Other Hispanics ^a	0.9	52.3	---	---	123.7

^aIncludes Central and South American, plus others.
Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

Birth Rates to Unmarried Women by Age of Mother
and Race/Ethnicity of Child, 1970-1984
(Births per 1,000)

Race/Ethnicity and Year	Total 15-19	15-17	18-19	20-24
All Races				
1970	22.4	17.1	32.9	38.4
1980	27.6	20.6	39.0	40.9
1984	30.2	21.9	43.0	43.2
White				
1970	10.9	7.5	17.6	22.5
1980	16.2	11.8	23.6	24.4
1984	19.0	13.5	27.6	27.8
Black				
1970	96.9	77.9	136.4	131.5
1980	89.2	69.6	120.2	115.1
1984	87.1	66.8	116.2	110.7
Hispanic				
1980	39.7	28.3	60.5	76.5
Mexican	41.8	29.9	63.9	79.5
Puerto Rican	62.4	43.9	96.8	114.1
Cuban	6.6	4.3	10.6	14.0
Other Hispanic ^a	27.0	18.6	41.1	58.6

^aIncludes Central and South American, plus others.
Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

Adolescent Pregnancy

**Births to Mothers Under Age 20 as a Percentage of Total
Births, by Race, U.S., Selected Years, 1950-1984**

Year	All Races	White	Nonwhite	
			Black	Total
1950	11.94	10.46	21.22	21.72
1955	12.10	10.83	19.56	19.05
1960	13.94	12.79	20.25	—
1961	14.27	13.17	20.18	—
1962	14.58	13.62	20.62	—
1963	14.49	13.40	21.18	—
1964	14.73	13.26	22.25	23.11
1965	15.92	14.28	23.95	25.16
1966	17.45	15.62	26.39	27.78
1967	17.18	14.98	27.91	29.46
1968	17.15	14.75	29.05	30.85
1969	17.08	14.62	29.21	31.04
1970	17.59	15.13	29.45	31.29
1971	17.98	15.44	29.65	31.67
1972	19.28	16.51	31.48	33.82
1973	19.66	16.84	31.95	34.44
1974	19.24	16.50	31.29	33.85
1975	18.91	16.26	30.34	32.90
1976	18.01	15.51	28.72	31.21
1977	17.15	14.74	27.34	29.72
1978	16.62	14.34	26.01	28.47
1979	16.03	13.82	25.07	27.50
1980	15.56	13.53	23.84	26.48
1981	14.79	12.86	22.63	25.29
1982	14.22	12.32	21.86	24.62
1983	13.71	11.78	21.35	24.25
1984	13.01	11.11	20.75	23.64

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Adolescent Pregnancy

Percent of All Births to Mothers
Under 20, Total, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Minnesota	7.9
2	North Dakota	8.5
3	New Hampshire	8.6
4	Utah	8.7
5	Massachusetts	9.0
6	Connecticut	9.4
7	Iowa	9.4
8	Alaska	9.6
9	Nebraska	9.7
10	Vermont	10.0
11	Wisconsin	10.1
12	New Jersey	10.2
13	Rhode Island	10.3
14	Montana	10.3
15	Hawaii	10.4
16	Washington	10.4
17	New York	10.4
18	Colorado	10.7
19	Idaho	10.7
20	South Dakota	10.8
21	Oregon	10.9
22	California	11.2
23	Wyoming	11.6
24	Pennsylvania	11.7
25	Kansas	11.8
26	Maine	12.2
27	Nevada	12.2
28	Michigan	12.4
29	Virginia	12.6
30	Maryland	12.8
31	Illinois	13.0
32	Ohio	13.4
33	Delaware	13.8
34	Missouri	14.0
35	Indiana	14.1
36	Arizona	14.3
37	Florida	14.7
38	Texas	15.7
39	New Mexico	15.7
40	Oklahoma	16.2
41	North Carolina	16.5
42	South Carolina	17.2
43	Tennessee	17.4
44	Louisiana	17.6
45	West Virginia	17.7
46	Georgia	17.8
47	District of Columbia	18.0
48	Alabama	18.2
49	Kentucky	18.3
50	Arkansas	19.9
51	Mississippi	21.2
	United States	13.1

Percent of All Births to Mothers Under
20, White, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	District of Columbia	4.1
2	New Jersey	6.8
3	Minnesota	7.1
4	Alaska	7.3
5	Connecticut	7.5
6	North Dakota	7.6
7	Hawaii	7.8
8	Massachusetts	8.3
9	New York	8.3
10	Wisconsin	8.5
11	Utah	8.5
12	New Hampshire	8.6
13	Nebraska	8.6
14	South Dakota	9.0
15	Montana	9.0
16	Iowa	9.0
17	Maryland	9.2
18	Illinois	9.3
19	Rhode Island	9.5
20	Pennsylvania	9.8
21	Delaware	9.9
22	Washington	10.0
23	Vermont	10.0
24	Michigan	10.0
25	Virginia	10.0
26	Colorado	10.3
27	Idaho	10.5
28	Oregon	10.6
29	Nevada	10.7
30	Kansas	10.8
31	California	11.0
32	Wyoming	11.1
33	Florida	11.4
34	Ohio	11.8
35	Missouri	11.9
36	Maine	12.2
37	South Carolina	12.6
38	Indiana	12.8
39	North Carolina	13.0
40	Louisiana	13.3
41	Arizona	13.3
42	Georgia	13.8
43	Alabama	14.4
44	Mississippi	14.5
45	Texas	14.5
46	Oklahoma	14.6
47	Tennessee	15.3
48	New Mexico	15.4
49	Arkansas	17.0
50	West Virginia	17.6
51	Kentucky	17.7
	United States	11.1

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Adolescent Pregnancy

Percent of All Births to Mothers
Under 20, Black, 1984

Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Hawaii	7.2
2	Utah	12.3
3	Alaska	13.7
4	Washington	16.3
5	Colorado	17.1
6	California	18.3
7	Massachusetts	18.8
8	New York	18.9
9	Rhode Island	19.5
10	New Mexico	19.5
11	Oregon	20.5
12	Minnesota	21.2
13	Virginia	21.5
14	District of Columbia	21.5
15	Maryland	21.6
16	West Virginia	21.7
17	Kansas	21.9
18	Arizona	22.5
19	Connecticut	22.8
20	Oklahoma	23.0
21	Ohio	23.6
22	Michigan	23.8
23	New Jersey	24.5
24	Pennsylvania	24.5
25	South Carolina	24.6
26	Iowa	24.6
27	Louisiana	24.7
28	Texas	24.8
29	Kentucky	24.8
30	Tennessee	25.0
31	Florida	25.1
32	North Carolina	25.2
33	Nevada	25.4
34	Alabama	25.4
35	Indiana	25.7
36	Georgia	25.7
37	Missouri	26.5
38	Delaware	27.0
39	Illinois	27.0
40	Nebraska	27.3
41	Mississippi	28.8
42	Wisconsin	28.9
43	Arkansas	29.4
	United States	23.6

Percent of All Births to Mothers
Under 20, for Cities of 500,000 +
Population, All Races, 1984

Rank	City Name	Rate
1	Staten Island	6.1
2	Queens	8.0
3	San Francisco	8.1
4	San Diego	9.6
5	San Jose	10.7
6	Manhattan	11.1
7	New York City*	12.1
8	Los Angeles	12.5
9	Boston	13.3
10	Brooklyn	13.4
11	Columbus	14.4
12	Jacksonville	16.1
13	Phoenix	16.1
14	Houston	16.2
15	Indianapolis	16.6
16	Bronx	17.2
17	Milwaukee	17.6
18	Philadelphia	17.9
19	District of Columbia	18.0
20	Memphis	18.5
21	San Antonio	18.6
22	New Orleans	18.7
23	Dallas	19.1
24	Chicago	19.1
25	Cleveland	19.6
26	Detroit	20.4
27	Baltimore	23.7

* This table includes data on births to teens for New York City as a whole and, in addition, breaks out the data for the five boroughs of the city of New York (Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Queens, and Staten Island).

Source: National Center for Health Statistics.
Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Adolescent Pregnancy**Percent of Births to Teens that Were
to Unmarried Mothers, Total, 1984**

<i>Rank</i>	<i>State Name</i>	<i>Rate</i>
1	Utah	33.4
2	Idaho	33.5
3	West Virginia	38.6
4	Wyoming	38.8
5	Texas	38.9
6	Kentucky	39.1
7	Oklahoma	39.3
8	Nevada	43.1
9	Kansas	44.3
10	North Dakota	46.4
11	Arkansas	47.4
12	Tennessee	49.7
13	South Dakota	49.9
14	Iowa	51.3
15	Alaska	51.6
16	Colorado	51.8
17	Maine	52.2
18	Indiana	52.3
19	Montana	52.9
20	New Hampshire	53.2
21	Oregon	53.3
22	New Mexico	53.7
23	North Carolina	53.9
24	Washington	54.6
25	Michigan	54.7
26	Alabama	55.0
27	Vermont	55.2
28	Missouri	55.5
29	Nebraska	56.0
30	Georgia	56.5
31	Virginia	56.7
32	Ohio	57.1
33	Arizona	57.9
34	California	58.0
35	Florida	58.8
36	Louisiana	59.0
37	Hawaii	60.6
38	South Carolina	61.5
39	Minnesota	61.8
40	Wisconsin	62.5
41	Pennsylvania	62.9
42	Delaware	63.8
43	Rhode Island	64.8
44	Mississippi	66.1
45	Massachusetts	67.5
46	Illinois	68.8
47	Connecticut	70.3
48	Maryland	72.6
49	New York	73.0
50	New Jersey	75.2
51	District of Columbia	91.6
	United States	56.3

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Adolescent Pregnancy

Percent of Births to Teens by Timing of Mother's Entry into Prenatal Care, Total, 1984

Early Care			Late or No Care		
Rank	State Name	Rate	Rank	State Name	Rate
1	Maine	67.1	1	Maine	5.0
2	Utah	65.9	2	Rhode Island	5.7
3	Iowa	65.2	3	Iowa	6.2
4	Rhode Island	64.2	4	New Hampshire	6.2
5	Wisconsin	61.7	5	Utah	6.5
6	North Dakota	61.3	6	Vermont	6.9
7	Massachusetts	61.2	7	Wisconsin	7.4
8	Kansas	61.1	8	North Dakota	7.5
9	Wyoming	60.8	9	Mississippi	7.8
10	Michigan	60.5	10	Massachusetts	7.8
11	Ohio	60.2	11	Michigan	7.9
12	Vermont	60.1	12	Ohio	8.0
13	New Hampshire	60.1	13	Delaware	8.1
14	Louisiana	60.0	14	Hawaii	8.4
15	Connecticut	58.8	15	Kansas	8.5
16	Kentucky	58.3	16	Louisiana	8.5
17	Mississippi	57.6	17	North Carolina	8.6
18	Alaska	57.5	18	Missouri	8.8
19	Montana	57.4	19	Connecticut	8.8
20	California	57.3	20	Indiana	8.9
21	Missouri	57.3	21	Minnesota	9.0
22	Virginia	57.2	22	Montana	9.2
23	North Carolina	57.0	23	Maryland	9.4
24	Idaho	56.8	24	Wyoming	9.5
25	Delaware	56.6	25	Virginia	9.5
26	Minnesota	56.3	26	Kentucky	9.7
27	Indiana	56.1	27	Georgia	9.8
28	Hawaii	55.8	28	Nebraska	9.9
29	Maryland	55.5	29	California	9.9
30	New Jersey	55.3	30	Tennessee	10.3
31	Georgia	55.3	31	Illinois	10.3
32	Nebraska	54.9	32	Alaska	10.4
33	Tennessee	54.4	33	Idaho	10.5
34	Illinois	54.3	34	Pennsylvania	10.6
35	Washington	54.2	35	New Jersey	11.3
36	Nevada	53.9	36	Washington	11.8
37	Pennsylvania	53.7	37	Alabama	12.0
38	Oregon	52.3	38	Nevada	12.2
39	Arizona	51.8	39	Oregon	12.9
40	Colorado	51.6	40	Colorado	12.9
41	Alabama	51.5	41	West Virginia	13.1
42	Arkansas	50.6	42	Arkansas	13.5
43	South Dakota	50.6	43	South Dakota	14.3
44	West Virginia	48.8	44	Oklahoma	15.4
45	Oklahoma	48.3	45	District of Columbia	15.7
46	Texas	45.7	46	South Carolina	15.7
47	New York	44.1	47	Arizona	16.0
48	District of Columbia	43.3	48	Florida	17.6
49	South Carolina	42.9	49	Texas	19.3
50	Florida	41.4	50	New York	20.7
51	New Mexico	39.9	51	New Mexico	22.8
	United States	53.7		United States	11.9

Source: National Center for Health Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Child Care

CHILDREN SERVED OR SLOTS PROVIDED BY TITLE XX
SOCIAL SERVICES BLOCK GRANT FUNDS

State	FY 1981	FY 1985	FY 1986	Percentage Change 1985-1986	Percentage Change 1981-1986
ALABAMA	13,000	8,000	8,500	+ 6.3	- 34.6
ALASKA*	17,029	36,336	37,900	+ 4.3	+122.6
ARIZONA	15,115	14,674	17,429	+18.8	+ 15.3
ARKANSAS	2,179	1,795	1,744	- 2.8	- 20.0
CALIFORNIA*		77,819	71,492	- 8.1	-
COLORADO	9,982	6,701	7,191	+ 7.3	- 28.0
CONNECTICUT	10,600	9,800	10,511	+ 7.3	- 0.8
DELAWARE	2,100	1,376	1,376	0	- 34.5
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	5,435	6,521	6,512	- 0.1	+ 19.8
FLORIDA	16,385	19,000	21,000	+10.5	+ 28.2
GEORGIA	8,200	8,161	8,020	- 1.7	- 2.2
HAWAII	5,949	1,747	1,198	-31.4	- 79.9
IDAHO	550	607	-	-	+ 27.8
ILLINOIS	28,100	17,198	20,293	+18.0	- 27.8
INDIANA	11,200	11,339	7,813	-	-
IOWA	1,729	1,917	1,250	-34.8	- 27.7
KANSAS	5,996	2,687	2,882	+ 7.2	- 51.9
KENTUCKY	6,985	6,581	6,800	+ 3.3	- 2.6
LOUISIANA	7,553	7,830	6,937	-11.4	- 8.2
MAINE	2,918	2,270	2,973	+31.0	+ 1.9
MARYLAND	6,830	6,945	7,445	+ 7.2	+ 9.0
MASSACHUSETTS	12,000	-	15,550	-	+ 29.6
MICHIGAN	35,779	4,080	4,574	+12.1	- 87.2
MINNESOTA	41,961	-	15,000	-	-
MISSISSIPPI	4,800	4,523	4,250	- 6.0	- 11.5
MISSOURI	-	6,648	6,775	+ 1.9	-
MONTANA*	1,100	525	441	-16.0	- 59.9
NEBRASKA	9,510	9,296	11,329	+21.9	+ 19.1
NEVADA	879	250	240	- 4.0	- 72.7
NEW HAMPSHIRE	4,000	5,676	4,859	-14.4	+ 21.5
NEW JERSEY	11,302	12,693	13,500	+ 6.4	+ 19.4
NEW MEXICO	5,109	2,526	2,700	+ 6.9	- 47.2
NEW YORK	94,442	57,100	57,100	0	-
NORTH CAROLINA	15,000	15,000	14,500	- 3.3	- 3.3
NORTH DAKOTA	100	386	-	-	-

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Child Care

State	FY 1981	FY 1985	FY 1986	Percentage Change 1985-1986	Percentage Change 1981-1986
OHIO	39,650	14,130	15,200	+ 7.6	- 61.7
OKLAHOMA	16,500	11,500	13,000	+13.0	- 21.2
OREGON*	2,697	3,458	3,509	+ 1.4	+ 30.1
PENNSYLVANIA	23,431	22,600	23,171	+ 2.5	- 1.1
RHODE ISLAND	2,113	794	850	+ 7.1	- 59.8
SOUTH CAROLINA	4,966	5,000	5,091	+ 1.8	+ 2.5
SOUTH DAKOTA	2,044	150	1,379	-	-
TENNESSEE	13,000	12,967	12,555	- 3.1	- 3.4
TEXAS	11,421	13,319	14,943	+12.2	+ 30.8
UTAH	4,352	6,741	7,433	+10.3	+ 70.7
VERMONT	1,300	1,100	1,350	+22.7	+ 3.8
VIRGINIA	5,200	2,737	3,083	+12.6	- 40.7
WASHINGTON	4,078	5,768	6,205	+ 7.5	+ 52.1
WEST VIRGINIA	5,200	4,500	4,500	+ 0	- 13.5
WISCONSIN	7,774	13,000	-	-	-
WYOMING	-	(1,700)	(2,542)	(+49.5)	-

* State uses no federal Title XX/SSBG funds for child care, all funds are state monies.

Note: The number of children served cannot be totaled because some states keep a record of child care slots while others provide data on total number of children served. For further explanation, see footnotes.

Notes: Children Served or Slots Provided by Title XX
Social Services Block Grant Funds

AL The estimated number of children served is 8,500. The number of full time equivalent slots is 6,523.

AK The number of children served is 37,900. The unduplicated count is 5,561.

AZ The figure shown is estimated number of children served.

AR The figure shown is the number of full time equivalent slots. Children served in these slots was 4,263 in FY86.

CA A rate increase resulted in more money spent to serve fewer children. Figures do not include child care funding through the WIN program.

CO The figure shown is the average number of children served per month. In addition to this number, Colorado in FY86 served 353 children with WIN funds in contrast to 763 with WIN funds in 1981.

CT The figure shown is the combined number of full time equivalent slots in state funded centers (4,203) and in the purchase of service program (1,747). The figures given for 1985 and 1981 are estimated number of children served.

DE FY85 and FY86 figures does not include WIN children.

FL The FY81 figures are numbers of children served. For FY85, 25,000 children were served, with 19,000 full time equivalent slots. In FY86, 30,000 were served in 21,000 FTE slots.

GA FY85 and FY86 figures are the number of slots purchased by the state, not the number of children served.

ID FY85 and FY86 figures are duplicated monthly counts.

IL The figures for each year are the numbers of full time equivalent slots.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Child Care

- IN Despite level funding of child care between FY85 and FY86, the preceding chart reflects a drastic reduction in the number of child care slots funded. State officials attribute this to inconsistent methods of counting children served, an increase in provider reimbursement rates, and the fact that many of the school-age children who had been receiving Title XX-funded child care prior to the creation of the state-funded school-age child care program have moved out of Title XX and into the new program.
- IA The FY85 and FY86 counts are monthly averages.
- KS The FY81 figure includes 35 WIN children. The FY86 figure is a monthly average.
- KY Figures are for the number of children being served by the Title XX child care program.
- LA FY85 and FY86 figures include both vendor and purchase of service. The FY86 figure is projected.
- ME The figures shown are the number of slots purchased by the state. The large increase in slots and the relatively small increase in funding, according to state officials, can be explained by the fact that the state has greatly increased the number of children in protective service child care. This means that the state is purchasing more slots but they are for shorter periods of time.
- MD The figures are duplicated counts of numbers of children served. The unduplicated count of actual children served in FY86 is 11,167.
- MA The figures provided only represent the day care slots purchased by the Department of Social Services, and do not include child care spaces funded through the Voucher programs operated by the Department of Public Welfare to provide child care to participants in the state's Employment and Training program (ET). In FY86 the state purchased 5,079 child care slots through this program.
- MI All figures represent an estimated average number of children served per month.
- MS Numbers of children served are shown for FY81, FY85, and FY86.
- MO The FY85 and FY86 figure are both monthly averages.
- NE The figure for FY85 and FY86 are average annual unduplicated counts.
- NV FY85 and FY86 figures are estimated duplicated counts prior to final count.
- NH The FY85 figure is an estimated unduplicated count. The FY86 figure is the actual number of children served, and does not include an estimated 260 children in protective services child care.
- NJ The FY81 figure is an estimate that was arrived at by dividing the states two year child care allocation of \$22,302 in half. The figures for FY85 and FY86 represent the total number of slots. The projected FY87 figure = 13,630. These figures do not include slots in state-run centers (FY85: 985 slots; FY86 and FY87: 925 slots), and average count of vouchers (FY85: 120, FY86: 170, and FY87: 170).
- NM The FY86 figure was provided by the state as an estimated number of children served per month. The estimated figure for FY87 is 2,400 per month.
- NY The FY81 figure includes both adults and children served. The FY85 figure represents the total number of children served. The FY86 figure is the projected number of children served for the entire year based on the first nine months of the new fiscal year. The number of slots funded for FY86 are 16,000 full time and 31,300 part time. The part time slots are mostly for school-age child care.
- NC FY85 and FY86 figures are average unduplicated monthly counts of children served.
- OR The FY85 count includes children with recipients and participants. FY86 figure is average monthly caseload, and does not include children served in the migrant (279 average daily population), or supportive remedial child care programs. (146 average daily population).
- PA The FY86 figure represents the actual number of children served. The FY87 projected figure is 22,612.
- RI FY86 figure is the number of children served over an 11-month period. Figures given represent the number of children served.
- SD FY85 figure is based on estimates calculated by the number of families served. FY86 is a duplicate count of children served over the course of the fiscal year, state was unable to provide an unduplicated count, therefore meaningful year-to-year comparisons are impossible.
- TN FY81 and FY85 figures represent number of children served.
- UT FY85 and FY86 figures are monthly averages.
- VT FY85 and FY86 figures are monthly averages. Proposed monthly average for FY87 is 1,400 children served.
- VA Figures shown represent average number of children served per month.
- WA Figures shown represent average number of children served per month.
- WV Figures represent the number of children served.
- WY 1985 and 1986 counts are estimates. The numbers represented cover clients served a variety of social service programs including child care.

APPENDIX B
INFORMATION ABOUT
CONGRESS

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES WORKING ON CHILDREN'S ISSUES

SENATE

APPROPRIATIONS

118 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-3471

Responsibilities: Item-by-item decisions on how much money
to spend for each federal program each year.

Democrats

John C. Stennis, Mississippi, Chairman
*Robert C. Byrd, West Virginia
*William Proxmire, Wisconsin
*Daniel K. Inouye, Hawaii
*Ernest F. Hollings, South Carolina
*Lawton Chiles, Florida
J. Bennett Johnston, Louisiana
*Quentin N. Burdick, North Dakota
Patrick J. Leahy, Vermont
Jim Sasser, Tennessee
Dennis DeConcini, Arizona
*Dale Bumpers, Arkansas
Frank R. Lautenberg, New Jersey
*Tom Harkin, Iowa
Barbara Mikulski, Maryland
Harry Reid, Nevada

Republicans

*Mark O. Hatfield, Oregon
*Ted Stevens, Alaska
*Lowell Weicker, Jr. Connecticut
*James A. McClure, Idaho
Jake Garn, Utah
Thad Cochran, Mississippi
Bob Kasten, Wisconsin
Alfonse M. D'Amato, New York
*Warren Rudman, New Hampshire
*Arlen Specter, Pennsylvania
*Pete V. Domenici, New Mexico
Charles E. Grassley, Iowa
Don Nickles, Oklahoma

* Member of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and
Related Agencies Subcommittee, chaired by Senator Lawton Chiles.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Budget

SD-621 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-0642

Responsibilities: Development of annual Congressional Budget Resolution which sets general revenue, spending and deficit targets for the fiscal year.

Democrats

Lawton Chiles, Florida, Chairman
Ernest Hollings, South Carolina
J. Bennett Johnston, Louisiana
Jim Sasser, Tennessee
Donald W. Riegle, Jr., Michigan
J. James Exon, Nebraska
Frank R. Lautenberg, New Jersey
Paul Simon, Illinois
Terry Sanford, North Carolina
Timothy E. Wirth, Colorado
Wyche Fowler, Jr. Georgia
Kent Conrad, North Dakota
Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut

Republicans

Pete V. Domenici, New Mexico
William L. Armstrong, Colorado
Nancy Landon Kassebaum, Kansas
Rudy Boschwitz, Minnesota
Steven Symms, Idaho
Charles Grassley, Iowa
Bob Kasten, Wisconsin
Dan Quayle, Indiana
John C. Danforth, Missouri
Dan Nickles, Oklahoma
Warren B. Rudman, New Hampshire

Finance

SD-205 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-4515

Responsibilities: Authorization and oversight for all tax and revenue measures and a broad range of important children's programs, including: the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980; Medicaid and its Early Periodic Screening, Diagnosis, and Treatment (EPSDT) component; Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC); Title XX Social Services Block Grant; the Maternal and Child Health Block Grant (Title V); Child Support; Social Security; Supplemental Security Income (SSI); and Dependent Care Tax Credit.

Democrats

Lloyd Bentsen, Texas, Chairman
Spark M. Matsunaga, Hawaii
Daniel P. Moynihan, New York
Max Baucus, Montana
David L. Boren, Oklahoma
Bill Bradley, New Jersey
George J. Mitchell, Maine
David H. Pryor, Arkansas
Donald W. Riegle, Jr., Michigan
John D. Rockefeller, IV, West Virginia
Thomas A. Daschle, South Dakota

Republicans

Bob Packwood, Oregon
Robert Dole, Kansas
William V. Roth, Jr., Delaware
John C. Danforth, Missouri
John H. Chafee, Rhode Island
John Heinz, Pennsylvania
Malcolm Wallop, Wyoming
Dave Durenberger, Minnesota
William L. Armstrong, Colorado

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Labor and Human Resources

SD-428 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-5375

Responsibilities: Authorization and oversight for a number of education, labor and social programs, including: Head Start, Chapter I education for disadvantaged children; Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment; Job Training and Partnership Act, and many others.

Democrats

Edward M. Kennedy, Massachusetts, Chairman
Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island
Howard M. Metzenbaum, Ohio
Spark M. Matsunaga, Hawaii
Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut
Paul Simon, Illinois
Tom Harkin, Iowa
Brock Adams, Washington
Barbara A. Mikulski, Maryland

Republicans

Orrin G. Hatch, Utah
Robert T. Stafford, Vermont
Dan Quayle, Indiana
Strom Thurmond, South Carolina
Lowell Weicker, Jr., Connecticut
Thad Cochran, Mississippi
Gordon Humphrey, New Hampshire

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

HOUSE

Appropriations

H-218 Capitol Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-2771

Responsibilities: Item-by-item decisions on how much money to spend for federal programs each year.

Democrats

Jamie L. Whitten, Mississippi, Chairman
Edward P. Boland, Massachusetts
*William H. Natcher, Kentucky
*Neal Smith, Iowa
Sidney R. Yates, Illinois
*David R. Obey, Wisconsin
*Edward R. Roybal, California
*Louis Stokes, Ohio
Tom Beville, Alabama
Bill Chappell, Jr., Florida
Bill Alexander, Arkansas
John P. Murtha, Pennsylvania
Bob Traxler, Michigan
*Joseph D. Early, Massachusetts
Charles Wilson, Texas
Lindy (Mrs. Hale) Boggs, Louisiana
Norman D. Dicks, Washington
Matthew F. McHugh, New York
William Lehman, Florida
Martin Olav Sabo, Minnesota
Julian C. Dixon, California
Vic Fazio, California
W.G. (Bill) Hefner, North Carolina
Les AuCoin, Oregon
Daniel K. Akaka, Hawaii
Wes Watkins, Oklahoma
William H. Gray, III, Pennsylvania
*Bernard J. Dwyer, New Jersey
William Hill Boner, Tennessee
*Steny H. Hoyer, Maryland
Bob Carr, Michigan
Robert J. Mrazek, New York
Richard J. Durbin, Illinois
Ronald D. Coleman, Texas
Alan Mollohan, West Virginia

Republicans

*Silvio O. Conte, Massachusetts
Joseph M. McDade, Pennsylvania
John T. Myers, Indiana
Clarence E. Miller, Ohio
Lawrence Coughlin, Pennsylvania
*C.W. Bill Young, Florida
Jack P. Kemp, New York
Ralph Regula, Ohio
Virginia Smith, Nebraska
*Carl D. Pursell, Michigan
Mickey Edwards, Oklahoma
Bob Livingston, Louisiana
Bill Green, New York
Jerry Lewis, California
*John Edward Porter, Illinois
Harold Rogers, Kentucky
Joe Skeen, New Mexico
Frank R. Wolf, Virginia
Bill Lowery, California
*Vin Weber, Minnesota
Thomas DeLay, Texas
Jim Kolbe, Arizona

* Member of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies Subcommittee, chaired by Congressman William H. Natcher.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Budget

214 House Office Building, Annex I
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 226-7200

Responsibilities: Development of annual Congressional Budget Resolution which sets general revenue, spending and deficit targets for the fiscal year.

Democrats

William H. Gray, III, Pennsylvania, Chairman
Thomas S. Foley, Washington
Mike Lowry, Washington
Butler Derrick, South Carolina
George Miller, California
Pat Williams, Montana
Howard Wolpe, Michigan
Martin Frost, Texas
Vic Fazio, California
Marty Russo, Illinois
Ed Jenkins, Georgia
Marvin Leath, Texas
Charles E. Schumer, New York
Barbara Boxer, California
Buddy MacKay, Florida
Jim Slattery, Kansas
Chester G. Atkins, Massachusetts
James L. Oberstar, Minnesota
Frank J. Guarini, New Jersey
Richard Durbin, Illinois
Mike Espy, Mississippi

Republicans

Delbert L. Latta, Ohio
Willis D. Gradison, Jr., Ohio
Connie Mack, Florida
William F. Goodling, Pennsylvania
Denny Smith, Oregon
Beau Boulter, Texas
Mickey Edwards, Oklahoma
William Thomas, California
Harold Rogers, Kentucky
Don Sundquist, Tennessee
Nancy Johnson, Connecticut
Richard Arme, Texas
Jack Buechner, Missouri
Armory Houghton, New York

Education and Labor

2181 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-4527

Responsibilities: Authorization and oversight of education and labor programs, including: Head Start; Chapter I education for disadvantaged children; Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment; and many others.

Democrats

Augustus F. Hawkins, California, Chairman
William D. Ford, Michigan
Joseph M. Gaydos, Pennsylvania
William (Bill) Clay, Missouri
Mario Biaggi, New York
Austin J. Murphy, Pennsylvania
Dale E. Kildee, Michigan
Pat Williams, Montana
Matthew G. Martinez, California
Major Owens, New York
Charles A. Hayes, Illinois
Carl C. Perkins, Kentucky
Thomas C. Sawyer, Ohio
Stephen J. Solarz, New York
Robert Wise, West Virginia
Timothy J. Penny, Minnesota
Bill Richardson, New Mexico
Tommy Robinson, Arkansas
Peter Visclosky, Indiana
Chester G. Atkins, Massachusetts
James Jontz, Indiana

Republicans

James M. Jeffords, Vermont
William F. Goodling, Pennsylvania
E. Thomas Coleman, Missouri
Thomas E. Petri, Wisconsin
Marge Roukema, New Jersey
Steve Gunderson, Wisconsin
Steve Bartlett, Texas
Thomas J. Tauke, Iowa
Richard K. Arme, Texas
Harris W. Fawell, Illinois
Paul B. Henry, Michigan
Fred Grandy, Iowa
Cass Ballenger, North Carolina

Energy and Commerce

2125 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-2927

Responsibilities: Authorization and oversight of Medicaid and other health programs, in addition to all energy, commerce, and environmental matters.

Democrats

*John D. Dingell, Michigan, Chairman
*James H. Scheuer, New York
*Henry A. Waxman, California
Philip R. Sharp, Indiana
James J. Florio, New Jersey
Edward J. Markey, Massachusetts
Thomas A. Luken, Ohio
*Doug Walgren, Pennsylvania
Al Swift, Washington
*Mickey Leland, Texas
*Cardiss Collins, Illinois
Mike Synar, Oklahoma
W.J. (Billy) Tauzin, Louisiana
*Ron Wyden, Oregon
*Ralph M. Hall, Texas
Dennis E. Eckart, Ohio
*Wayne Dowdy, Mississippi
Bill Richardson, New Mexico
Jim Slattery, Kansas
*Gerry Sikorski, Minnesota
John Bryant, Texas
*Jim Bates, California
Frederick C. Boucher, Virginia
James Cooper, Tennessee
*Terry L. Bruce, Illinois

Republicans

*Norman F. Lent, New York
*Edward R. Madigan, Illinois
Carlos J. Moorhead, California
Matthew J. Rinaldo, New Jersey
*William E. Dannemeyer, California
*Bob Whittaker, Kansas
*Thomas J. Tauke, Iowa
Don Ritter, Pennsylvania
*Dan Coats, Indiana
*Thomas J. Bliley, Jr., Virginia
*Jack Fields, Texas
Michael G. Oxley, Ohio
Howard C. Nielson, Utah
Michael Bilirakis, Florida
Dan Schaefer, Colorado
Joe L. Barton, Texas
Sonny Callahan, Alabama

* Member of Health and the Environment Subcommittee, chaired by Congressman Henry A. Waxman.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Ways and Means

1102 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3625

Responsibilities: Authorization and oversight of all tax and revenue measures and a number of important children's programs, including: Title XX Social Services; the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980; Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC); Child Support; Supplemental Security Income (SSI); Social Security; and Dependent Care Tax Credits.

Democrats

Dan Rostenkowski, Illinois, Chairman
Sam Gibbons, Florida
J.J. Pickle, Texas
Charles B. Rangel, New York
Fortney H. (Pete) Stark, California
Andrew Jacobs, Jr., Indiana
*Harold E. Ford, Tennessee
Ed Jenkins, Georgia
*Thomas J. Downey, New York
Frank J. Guarini, New Jersey
Marty Russo, Illinois
*Donald J. Pease, Ohio
*Robert T. Matsui, California
Beryl Anthony, Jr., Arkansas
Ronnie G. Flipppo, Alabama
Byron L. Dorgan, North Dakota
*Barbara R. Kennelly, Connecticut
*Brian J. Donnelly, Massachusetts
William J. Coyne, Pennsylvania
*Mike Andrews, Texas
Sander Levin, Michigan
Jim Moody, Wisconsin

Republicans

John J. Duncan, Tennessee
Bill Archer, Texas
Guy Vander Jagt, Michigan
Philip M. Crane, Illinois
*Bill Frenzel, Minnesota
Richard T. Schulze, Pennsylvania
*Willis D. Gradison, Jr., Ohio
William M. Thomas, California
Raymond J. McGrath, New York
Hal Daub, Nebraska
Judd Gregg, New Hampshire
*Hank Brown, Colorado
*Rod Chandler, Washington

* Member of Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation Subcommittee, chaired by Congressman Harold E. Ford.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families

385 House Office Building, Annex 2

Washington, D.C. 20515

(202) 226-7660

Responsibilities: Study and review of problems of children, youth, and families and the development of policies that would encourage the coordination of both governmental and private programs designed to address these problems.

Democrats

George Miller, California, Chairman
William Lehman, Florida
Patricia Schroeder, Colorado
Lindy (Mrs. Hale) Boggs, Louisiana
Matthew F. McHugh, New York
Ted Weiss, New York
Beryl Anthony, Jr., Arkansas
Barbara Boxer, California
Sander Levin, Michigan
Bruce A. Morrison, Connecticut
J. Roy Rowland, Georgia
Gerry Sikorski, Minnesota
Alan Wheat, Missouri
Matthew G. Martinez, California
Lane Evans, Illinois
Richard Durbin, Illinois
Thomas C. Sawyer, Ohio
David Skaggs, Colorado

Republicans

Dan Coats, Indiana
Thomas Bliley, Jr., Virginia
Frank Wolf, Virginia
Nancy Johnson, Connecticut
Barbara Vucanovich, Nevada
Jack Kemp, New York
George Wortley, New York
Ron Packard, California
Beau Boulter, Texas
J. Dennis Hastert, Illinois
Clyde C. Holloway, Louisiana
Fred Grandy, Iowa

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

This roster of congressional members is included to help you in contacting your representatives.

Mail to Senators may be addressed to:

The Honorable _____
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Mail to Representatives may be addressed to:

The Honorable _____
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Members can also be called. The Capitol Hill switchboard number is (202) 224-3121.

In the following list of members, Democrats are in roman type, Republicans in italic. The district number of each Representative is also provided.

CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND

MEMBERS OF THE 100th CONGRESS

ALABAMA

Senate:

Howell Heflin

Richard C. Shelby

House:

1. Sonny Callahan
2. William L. Dickinson
3. Bill Nichols
4. Tom Bevill

5. Ronnie G. Flippo
6. Ben Erdreich
7. Claude Harris

ARKANSAS

Senate:

Dale Bumpers

David Pryor

House:

1. Bill Alexander
2. Tommy F. Robinson

3. John Paul Hammerschmidt
4. Beryl Anthony Jr.

ALASKA

Senate:

Ted Stevens

Frank H. Murkowski

House:

AL Don Young

CALIFORNIA

Senate:

Alan Cranston

Pete Wilson

House:

1. Douglas H. Bosco
2. Wally Herger
3. Robert T. Matsui
4. Vic Fazio
5. Vacant
6. Barbara Boxer
7. George Miller
8. Ronald V. Dellums
9. Fortney H. "Pete" Stark
10. Don Edwards
11. Tom Lantos
12. Ernest Konnyu
13. Norman Y. Mineta
14. Norman D. Shumway
15. Tony Coelho
16. Leon E. Panetta
17. Charles Pashayan Jr.
18. Richard H. Lehman
19. Robert J. Lagomarsino
20. William M. Thomas
21. Elton Gallegly
22. Carlos J. Moorhead
23. Anthony C. Beilenson

24. Henry A. Waxman
25. Edward R. Roybal
26. Howard L. Berman
27. Mel Levine
28. Julian C. Dixon
29. Augustus F. Hawkins
30. Matthew G. Martinez
31. Mervyn M. Dymally
32. Glenn M. Anderson
33. David Dreier
34. Estaban Edward Torres
35. Jerry Lewis
36. George E. Brown
37. Al McCandless
38. Bob Dornan
39. William E. Dannemeyer
40. Robert E. Badham
41. Bill Lowery
42. Dan Lungren
43. Ron Packard
44. Jim Bates
45. Duncan L. Hunter

ARIZONA

Senate:

Dennis DeConcini

John McCain

House:

1. John J. Rhodes III
2. Morris K. Udall
3. Bob Stump

4. Jon Kyl
5. Jim Kolbe

COLORADO

Senate

William L. Armstrong

Timothy E. Wirth

House

1. Patricia Schroeder
2. David Skaggs
3. Ben Nighthorse Campbell

4. Hank Brown
5. Joel Hefley
6. Dan L. Schaefer

11. Bill Nelson
12. Tom Lewis
13. Connie Mack
14. Daniel A. Mica
15. E. Clay Shaw Jr.

16. Larry Smith
17. William Lehman
18. Claude Pepper
19. Dante B. Fascell

CONNECTICUT

Senate

Lowell P. Weicker Jr.

Christopher J. Dodd

House

1. Barbara B. Kennelly
2. Sam Gejdenson
3. Bruce A. Morrison

4. Stewart B. McKinney
5. John G. Rowland
6. Nancy L. Johnson

Senate

Sam Nunn

Wyche Fowler Jr.

House

1. Robert Lindsay Thomas
2. Charles Hatcher
3. Richard Ray
4. Pat Swindall
5. John Lewis

6. Newt Gingrich
7. George "Buddy" Darden
8. J. Roy Rowland
9. Ed Jenkins
10. Doug Bernard Jr.

House Ratio 100th Congress 8D/2R

DELAWARE

Senate

William V. Roth Jr.

Joseph R. Biden Jr.

House

AL Thomas R. Carper

HAWAII

Senate

Daniel K. Inouye

Spark M. Matsunaga

House

1. Patricia Saito

2. Daniel K. Akaka

FLORIDA

Senate

Lawton Chiles

Bob Graham

House

1. Earl Hutto
2. Bill Grant
3. Charles E. Bennett
4. Bill Chappell Jr.
5. Bill McCollum

6. Buddy MacKay
7. Sam Gibbons
8. C. W. Bill Young
9. Michael Bilirakis
10. Andy Ireland

IDAHO

Senate

James A. McClure

Steven Symms

House

1. Larry E. Craig

2. Richard H. Stallings

ILLINOIS

Senate:
Alan J. Dixon

Paul Simon

House:

1. Charles A. Hayes
2. Gus Savage
3. Marty Russo
4. Jack Davis
5. William O. Lipinski
6. Henry J. Hyde
7. Cardias Collins
8. Dan Rostenkowski
9. Sidney R. Yates
10. John Edward Porter
11. Frank Annunzio

12. Philip M. Crane
13. Harris W. Fawell
14. J. Dennis Hastert
15. Edward R. Madigan
16. Lynn Martin
17. Lane Evans
18. Robert H. Michel
19. Terry L. Bruce
20. Richard J. Durban
21. Melvin Price
22. Kenneth J. Gray

KANSAS

Senate:
Robert Dole

Nancy Landon Kassebaum

House:

1. Pat Roberts
2. Jim Slattery
3. Jan Meyers

4. Dan Glickman
5. Bob Whittaker

KENTUCKY

Senate:
Wendell H. Ford

Mitch McConnell

House:

1. Carroll Hubbard Jr.
2. William H. Natcher
3. Romano L. Mazzoli
4. Jim Bunning

5. Harold Rogers
6. Larry J. Hopkins
7. Carl C. Perkins

INDIANA

Senate:
Richard G. Lugar

Dan Quayle

House:

1. Peter J. Visclosky
2. Philip R. Sharp
3. John Hiler
4. Dan Coats
5. James Jontz

6. Dan Burton
7. John T. Myers
8. Frank McCloskey
9. Lee H. Hamilton
10. Andrew Jacobs Jr.

LOUISIANA

Senate:
J. Bennett Johnston

John B. Breaux

House:

1. Bob Livingston
2. Lindy (Mrs. Hale) Boggs
3. W. J. "Billy" Tauzin
4. Buddy Roemer

5. Jerry Huckaby
6. Richard Baker
7. Jimmy Hayes
8. Clyde Holloway

IOWA

Senate:
Charles E. Grassley

Tom Harkin

House:

1. Jim Leach
2. Tom Tauke
3. David R. Nagle

4. Neal Smith
5. Jim Lightfoot
6. Fred Grandy

MAINE

Senate:
William S. Cohen

George J. Mitchell

House:

1. Joseph E. Brennan

2. Olympia J. Snowe

MARYLAND

Senate
Paul S. Sarbanes

Barbara A. Mikulski

House:

1. Roy Dyson
2. Helen Delich Bentley
3. Benjamin L. Cardin
4. Thomas McMillen

5. Steny H. Hoyer
6. Beverly B. Byron
7. Kweisi Mfume
8. Constance A. Morella

MINNESOTA

Senate
David Durenberger

Rudy Boschwitz

House:

1. Timothy J. Penny
2. Vin Weber
3. Bill Frenzel
4. Bruce F. Vento

5. Martin Olav Sabo
6. Gerry Sikorski
7. Arlan Stangeland
8. James L. Oberstar

MASSACHUSETTS

Senate
Edward M. Kennedy

John Kerry

House:

1. Silvio O. Conte
2. Edward P. Boland
3. Joseph D. Early
4. Barney Frank
5. Chester G. Atkins
6. Nicholas Mavroules

7. Edward J. Markey
8. Joseph P. Kennedy II
9. Joe Moakley
10. Gerry Studds
11. Brian J. Donnelly

MISSISSIPPI

Senate
John C. Stennis

Thad Cochran

House:

1. Jamie L. Whitten
2. Mike Espy
3. G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery

4. Wayne Dowdy
5. Trent Lott

MISSOURI

Senate
John C. Danforth

Christopher S. "Kit" Bond

House:

1. William Clay
2. Jack Buechner
3. Richard A. Gephardt
4. Ike Skelton
5. Alan Wheat

6. E. Thomas Coleman
7. Gene Taylor
8. Bill Emerson
9. Harold L. Volkmer

MICHIGAN

Senate
Donald W. Riegle Jr.

Carl Levin

House:

1. John Conyers Jr.
2. Carl D. Pursell
3. Howard Wolpe
4. Fred Upton
5. Paul B. Henry
6. Bob Carr
7. Dale E. Kildee
8. Bob Traxler
9. Guy Vander Jagt

10. Bill Schuette
11. Robert W. Davis
12. David E. Bonior
13. George W. Crockett Jr.
14. Dennis M. Hertel
15. William D. Ford
16. John D. Dingell
17. Sander M. Levin
18. William S. Broomfield

MONTANA

Senate
John Melcher

Max Baucus

House:

1. Pat Williams

2. Ron Marlenee

NEBRASKA

Senate:
Edward Zorinsky

J. James Exon

House:
1. Doug Bereuter
2. Hal Daub

3. Virginia Smith

NEW MEXICO

Senate:
Pete V. Domenici

Jeff Bingaman

House:
1. Manuel Lujan Jr.
2. Joe Skeen

3. Bill Richardson

NEVADA

Senate:
Chic Hecht

Harry Reid

House:
1. James H. Bilbray

2. Barbara F. Vucanovich

NEW YORK

Senate:
Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Alfonse M. D'Amato

House:
1. George J. Hochbrueckner
2. Thomas J. Downey
3. Robert J. Mrazek
4. Norman F. Lent
5. Raymond J. McGrath
6. Floyd Flake
7. Gary L. Ackerman
8. James H. Scheuer
9. Thomas J. Manton
10. Charles E. Schumer
11. Edolphus Towns
12. Major R. Owens
13. Stephen J. Solarz
14. Guy V. Molinari
15. Bill Green
16. Charles B. Rangel
17. Ted Weiss

18. Robert Garcia
19. Mario Biaggi
20. Joseph J. DioGuardi
21. Hamilton Fish Jr.
22. Benjamin A. Gilman
23. Samuel S. Stratton
24. Gerald B. H. Solomon
25. Sherwood Boehlert
26. David O'B Martin
27. George C. Wortley
28. Matthew F. McHugh
29. Frank Horton
30. Louise M. Slaughter
31. Jack F. Kemp
32. John J. LaFalce
33. Henry J. Nowak
34. Amory Houghton Jr.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Senate:
Gordon J. Humphrey

Warren B. Rudman

House:
1. Robert C. Smith

2. Judd Gregg

NORTH CAROLINA

Senate:
Jesse Helms

Terry Sanford

House:
1. Walter B. Jones
2. Tim Valentine
3. Martin Lancaster
4. David E. Price
5. Stephen L. Neal
6. Howard Coble

7. Charlie Rose
8. W. G. "Bill" Hefner
9. J. Alex McMillan
10. Cass Ballenger
11. James McClure Clarke

NEW JERSEY

Senate:
Bill Bradley

Frank R. Lautenberg

House:
1. James J. Florio
2. William J. Hughes
3. James J. Howard
4. Christopher H. Smith
5. Marge Roukema
6. Bernard J. Dwyer
7. Matthew J. Rinaldo

8. Robert A. Roe
9. Robert G. Torricelli
10. Peter W. Rodino Jr.
11. Dean A. Gallo
12. Jim Courter
13. H. James Saxton
14. Frank J. Guarini

NORTH DAKOTA

Senate:

Quentin N. Burdick

Kent Conrad

House:

AL Byron L. Dorgan

3. Ron Wyden

4. Peter A. DeFazio
5. Denny Smith

OHIO

Senate:

John Glenn

Howard M. Metzenbaum

House:

1. Thomas A. Luken
2. Bill Gradison
3. Tony P. Hall
4. Michael G. Oxley
5. Delbert L. Latta
6. Bob McEwen
7. Michael DeWine
8. Donald E. Luken
9. Marcy Kaptur
10. Clarence E. Miller
11. Dennis E. Eckart

12. John R. Kasich
13. Don J. Pease
14. Thomas C. Sawyer
15. Chalmers P. Wylie
16. Ralph Regula
17. James A. Traficant Jr.
18. Douglas Applegate
19. Edward F. Feighan
20. Mary Rose Oskar
21. Louis Stokes

PENNSYLVANIA

Senate:

John Heinz

Arlen Specter

House:

1. Thomas M. Foglietta
2. William H. Gray III
3. Robert A. Borski
4. Joe Kolter
5. Richard T. Schulze
6. Gus Yatron
7. Curt Weldon
8. Peter H. Kostmayer
9. Bud Shuster
10. Joseph M. McDade
11. Paul E. Kanjorski
12. John P. Murtha

13. Lawrence Coughlin
14. William J. Coyne
15. Don Ritter
16. Robert S. Walker
17. George W. Gekas
18. Douglas Walgren
19. Bill Goodling
20. Joseph M. Gaydos
21. Tom Ridge
22. Austin J. Murphy
23. William F. Clinger

RHODE ISLAND

Senate:

Claiborne Pell

John H. Chafee

House:

1. Fernand J. St Germain

2. Claudine Schneider

OKLAHOMA

Senate:

David L. Boren

Don Nickles

House:

1. James M. Inhofe
2. Mike Synar
3. Wes Watkins

4. Dave McCurdy
5. Mickey Edwards
6. Glenn English

SOUTH CAROLINA

Senate:

Strom Thurmond

Ernest F. Hollings

House:

1. Arthur Ravenel Jr.
2. Floyd Spence
3. Butler Derrick

4. Liz J. Patterson
5. John M. Spratt Jr.
6. Robin Tallon

OREGON

Senate:

Mark O. Hatfield

Bob Packwood

House:

1. Les AuCoin

2. Robert F. Smith

SOUTH DAKOTA

Senate:
Larry Pressler

Thomas A. Daschle

House:
AL Tim Johnson

UTAH

Senate:
Jake Garn

Orrin G. Hatch

House:
1. James V. Hansen
2. Wayne Owens

3. Howard C. Nielson

TENNESSEE

Senate:
Jim Sasser

Albert Gore Jr.

House:
1. James H. Quillen
2. John J. Duncan
3. Marilyn Lloyd
4. Jim Cooper
5. Bill Boner

6. Bart Gordon
7. Don Sundquist
8. Ed Jones
9. Harold E. Ford

VERMONT

Senate:
Robert T. Stafford

Patrick J. Leahy

House:
AL James M. Jeffords

TEXAS

Senate:
Lloyd Bentsen

Phil Gramm

House:
1. Jim Chapman
2. Charles Wilson
3. Steve Bartlett
4. Ralph M. Hall
5. John Bryant
6. Joe L. Barton
7. Bill Archer
8. Jack Fields
9. Jack Brooks
10. J. J. Pickle
11. Marvin Leath
12. Jim Wright
13. Beau Boulter
14. Mac Sweeney

15. E. "Kika" de la Garza
16. Ronald D. Coleman
17. Charles W. Stenholm
18. Mickey Leland
19. Larry Combest
20. Henry B. Gonzalez
21. Lamar Smith
22. Thomas D. DeLay
23. Albert G. Bustamante
24. Martin Frost
25. Michael A. Andrews
26. Dick Armey
27. Solomon P. Ortiz

VIRGINIA

Senate:
John Warner

Paul S. Trible Jr.

House:
1. Herbert H. Bateman
2. Owen B. Pickett
3. Thomas J. Bliley Jr.
4. Norman Sisisky
5. Dan Daniel

6. James R. Olin
7. D. French Slaughter Jr.
8. Stan Parris
9. Frederick C. Boucher
10. Frank R. Wolf

WASHINGTON

Senator

Daniel J. Evans

Brock Adams

House:

1. *John R. Miller*
2. *Al Swift*
3. *Don Bonker*
4. *Sid Morrison*

5. *Thomas S. Foley*
6. *Norman D. Dicks*
7. *Mike Lowry*
8. *Rod Chandler*

WISCONSIN

Senator

William Proxmire

Bob Kasten

House:

1. *Les Aspin*
2. *Robert W. Kastenmeier*
3. *Steve Gunderson*
4. *Gerald D. Kleczka*
5. *Jim Moody*

6. *Thomas E. Petri*
7. *David R. Obey*
8. *Toby Roth*
9. *F. James Sensenbrenner*

WEST VIRGINIA

Senator

Robert C. Byrd

John D. Rockefeller IV

House:

1. *Alan B. Mollohan*
2. *Harley O. Staggers Jr.*

3. *Bob Wise*
4. *Nick J. Rahall II*

WYOMING

Senator

Malcolm Wallop

Alan K. Simpson

House:

AL Dick Cheney

1987 CONGRESSIONAL RECESS SCHEDULE

Senate

February 9 - February 15
April 13 - April 20
May 22 - May 26
July 2 - July 6
August 8 - September 8

House

February 12 - February 17
April 11 - April 20
May 22 - May 26
July 2 - July 6
August 8 - September 8

Senators and Representatives are often in their home states and districts during recesses. You can visit them in their district offices at these times and tell them your opinions of budget cuts that hurt children. District offices are listed in the phone book.

KEY TERMS IN THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Authorization: A legislative process whereby the "authorizing committees" in each house of Congress establish, continue, or change federal programs under their jurisdiction. "Authorization legislation" sets spending ceilings for programs, usually for a period of several years, and determines the basic requirements guiding program operation. Congressional rules require that programs be properly "authorized" before actual funds may be appropriated for them.

Appropriation: A legislative process whereby House and Senate Appropriations Committees set actual spending levels for federal programs each year, within the limits set by authorization legislation and budget resolutions. Federal programs and agencies are grouped into one of thirteen annual appropriations bills to be passed and signed by the President before the beginning of each fiscal year (October 1).

Continuing Resolution: Legislation that continues funding for federal programs for which Congress has not completed regular annual legislation by the beginning of the fiscal year. Continuing Resolutions are a form of stop-gap, often omnibus appropriations legislation. A Continuing Resolution must be passed by both houses of Congress and signed by the President.

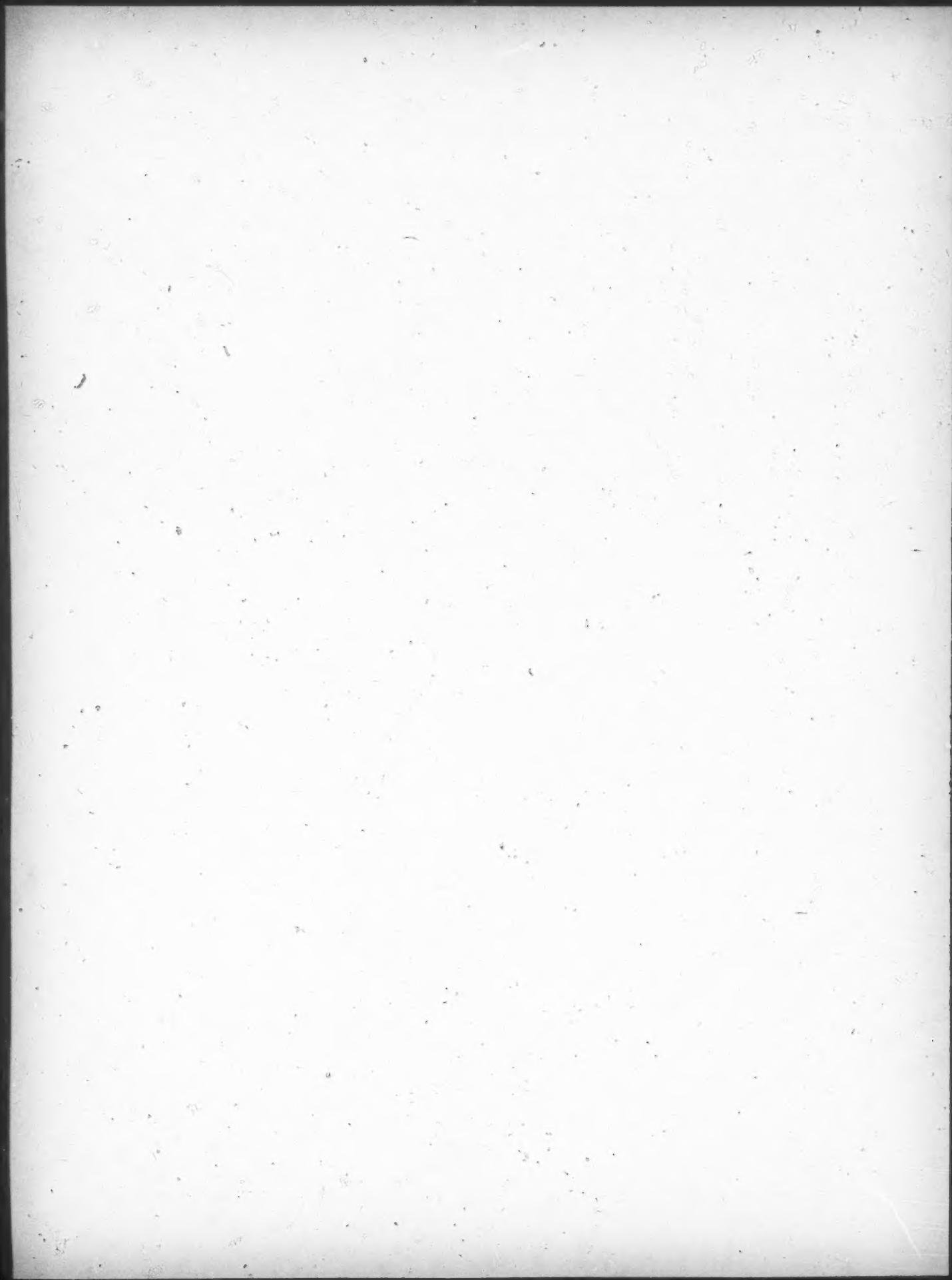
Line Item Veto: A mechanism to allow the President to veto individual portions of the thirteen annual appropriations bills. Currently the President must sign or veto an entire appropriations bill, which contains funding for dozens of federal agencies, programs, or activities. A line item veto would allow the President to veto a particular "line" in the bill, excluding funding for only that particular program or activity (unless Congress overrode the veto), while approving the rest of the legislation. The Administration has proposed to provide the President with line item veto authority.

Entitlement Programs: Federal programs, such as Medicaid, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Food Stamps, and Social Security, which are available to all persons who meet their eligibility requirements. Means-tested entitlements are provided to those eligible on the basis of income or "means," while non-means-tested entitlements have no income test. Funding for entitlement programs is contained in annual appropriations legislation, but the amount of such funding is set according to the level of benefits to be provided and the number of eligible persons "entitled" to receive them. Key decisions regarding eligibility and benefit levels are made by the authorizing committees.

Discretionary Programs: Federal programs, other than entitlements, for which each year's amount of spending is set at the "discretion" of the Appropriations Committees, within upper limits established by the authorizing legislation and the budget resolution. Many programs serving poor children and families, including Head Start, the Maternal and Child Health Block Grant, Immunizations, Child Welfare Services, Job Corps, and the Chapter I program for education of the disadvantaged, are discretionary programs.

Budget Resolution: Legislation, in the form of a concurrent resolution, that establishes general spending and revenue guidelines for the entire federal government each year. The President's proposed budget makes spending and revenue recommendations. Then Congress considers these recommendations, and adopts a Concurrent Budget Resolution that finally sets that government's spending and revenue limits in general categories called functions. The Concurrent Budget Resolution must be adopted by both houses of Congress, but does not require the President's signature.

Reconciliation: Legislation to implement the spending and revenue limits in the Concurrent Budget Resolution, including any actual program changes, tax changes, or spending changes necessary to achieve required budget savings.



APPENDIX C

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

OTHER RESOURCE ORGANIZATIONS

For additional information on programs and issues discussed in this book, we are listing a number of other organizations that can provide background information. At least one person is listed for each organization.

Food Stamps, WIC, Child Nutrition

Center on Budget and Policy Priorities
236 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., #305
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 544-0591
Bob Greenstein, Stefan Harvey

Food Research and Action
Center/National Anti-
Hunger Coalition
1319 F Street, N.W., #500
Washington, D.C. 20004
202 347-8800
Ed Cooney

Low-Income Energy Assistance

National Consumer Law Center
236 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., #504
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 543-6060
Chuck Hill

National Council of Senior
Citizens
925 25th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 347-8800
Eric Shulman

Low-Income Housing

National Low-Income Housing Coalition
1012 14th Street, N.W., #1006
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 662-1530
Barry Zigas

National Rural Housing
Coalition
2001 S Street, N.W., #500
Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 483-1504
Bob Rapoza

Homelessness

Coalition for the Homeless
105 East 22nd Street
New York, NY 10010
(212) 460-8110
Bob Hayes

Civil Rights

National Urban League
1111 14th Street, N.W., Sixth Floor
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 898-1604
Dr. Douglas Glasgow

NAACP
1025 Vermont Avenue, N.W.,
#820
Washington D.C. 20005
(202) 638-2269
Althea Simmons

Leadership Conference on
Civil Rights
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 557-1780
Ralph Neas

NAACP Legal Defense and
Educational Fund, Inc.
Washington Office
806 15th Street, N.W., #940
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 638-3278
Phyllis P. McClure

Lawyers Committee for
Civil Rights Under Law
1400 I Street, N.W., #400
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 371-1212
Bill Robinson

Mexican American Legal
Defense and Educational
Fund
1430 K Street, N.W., #700
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 628-4074
Mario Moreno

Hispanic Policy
Development Project
1001 Connecticut Avenue,
Suite 310
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 822-8414
Henry Santiestevan,
Rafael Valdivieso

National Council of LaRaza
20 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 628-9600
Rosemary Aguilar

Americans for Indian
Opportunity
1010 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 371-1280
LaDonna Harris

Organization of Chinese
Americans, Inc.
2025 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 223-5500
Henry Mui

League of United Latin American
American Citizens
400 1st Street, N.W. Suite 721
Washington, D.C. 20001
(202) 628-8516
Joe Trevino

National Congress of American
Indians
804 D Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 546-9404
Suzan Shown Ajrjo

Japanese-American Citizen's League
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 223-1240
Grayce Ujehara

Family Planning

The Alan Guttmacher Institute
2010 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., #500
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 296-4012
Asta Kenney

Block Grants and Budget Priorities

Coalition on Human Needs
1000 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
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Reader's Survey

Dear Reader,

We at CDF want this book, *A Children's Defense Budget*, to be the most effective resource possible for advocates, researchers, legislators, and others involved in issues affecting children and families.

Please help us serve your needs even better in the future by completing this brief reader's survey. The survey will help us understand who you are, how you use *A Children's Defense Budget*, and what parts of the book you find most useful and informative. The results will be used by CDF editors and authors in structuring future editions of this book.

Sincerely,

Marian Wright Edelman

Marian Wright Edelman
President, Children's Defense Fund

P.S. To show our appreciation for your valuable comments, we'll send you a free four-color 20" X 24" CDF logo poster when you return the survey. And remember, postage for sending us the survey is paid by CDF.

1. How would you describe yourself? (Check the one that comes closest)

- ☐ Elected or appointed government official
☐ Staff member of elected or appointed government official
☐ Academic (please indicate field) _____
☐ Provider of direct services (doctor, teacher, child care provider, lawyer, social worker, etc.). (Please indicate field) _____
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☐ Other (please specify) _____

2. If you work for an organization, is it a: (Please check one)

- ☐ State or local agency or legislature
☐ Federal agency or Congress
☐ University or college
☐ Child advocacy organization
☐ Other nonprofit organization (please indicate focus) _____
☐ For-profit organization (please indicate type) _____
☐ Other (please specify) _____

3. Is your organization's focus: (Please check one in each group, A, B, and C)

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>A. ☐ National
 ☐ State or multi-state
 ☐ Local</p> | <p>B. ☐ On social policy in general
 ☐ On policies affecting children
 ☐ On policies affecting families
 ☐ On policies affecting the poor
 ☐ Other _____</p> | <p>C. ☐ Health
 ☐ Education
 ☐ Child care or Head Start
 ☐ Adolescent pregnancy prevention
 ☐ Multi-issue
 ☐ Other (please specify) _____</p> |
|--|---|---|

4. How important to you were the following reasons for buying or using this book? (Please circle one for each subject)

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
For data on the general status of poor families and children	1	2	3
For information about a specific area of interest (child care, health, etc.)	1	2	3
For analysis of the President's budget proposal	1	2	3
For an overview of federal policies and spending on children's programs	1	2	3
For information about the federal budget process in general	1	2	3
For CDF's legislative agenda and policy recommendations	1	2	3

5. How useful to you are the following chapters and sections of this book? (Circle one for each chapter/section)

	Very Useful	Somewhat Useful	Not Useful	Did Not Read
Foreword	1	2	3	4
Executive Summary	1	2	3	4
Budget Process	1	2	3	4
CDF's Legislative Agenda	1	2	3	4
Health	1	2	3	4
Family Income	1	2	3	4
Food Assistance	1	2	3	4
Homelessness and Housing	1	2	3	4
Preventing Adolescent Pregnancy	1	2	3	4
Education	1	2	3	4
Youth Employment	1	2	3	4
Abused and Neglected Children	1	2	3	4
Runaway Youths and Juvenile Justice	1	2	3	4
Child Care	1	2	3	4
Head Start	1	2	3	4
Civil Rights	1	2	3	4
Appendices	1	2	3	4

6. How useful to you are the following types of information in this book? (Circle one for each type of information)

	Very Useful	Somewhat Useful	Not Useful
Data in charts and tables	1	2	3
Anecdotal examples and case histories	1	2	3
Summaries of reports and studies	1	2	3
Narrative descriptions of programs and policies	1	2	3
Quotes from well-known Americans	1	2	3

7. Please check any recent actions of yours that were prompted by this book, and in which cases you quoted or cited material from this book: (Check all that apply)

	Actions Taken	Quoted or Cited Book
Contacted a U.S. Senator or Representative	_____	_____
Contacted a state or local official	_____	_____
Issued a press release or spoke to the media	_____	_____
Gave a speech or wrote a speech for someone else	_____	_____
Developed or modified organizing or lobbying strategy	_____	_____
Used in working on another publication	_____	_____
Other _____	_____	_____

8. How would you rate this book on the following: (Circle one for each subject)

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Clarity of writing	1	2	3	4
Usefulness of information	1	2	3	4
Accuracy of information	1	2	3	4
Completeness of information	1	2	3	4
Timeliness of information	1	2	3	4

9. Additional comments:

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Key Facts About the Nation's Investment in Children

- More than one of every five American children was poor in 1985. Of them, more than 40 percent lived in families with incomes of less than half the poverty level.
- The number of Americans working at hourly wages that would not lift a family of three out of poverty—even if they worked forty hours a week for fifty weeks per year—more than tripled between 1979 and 1985.
- Food stamps reach only about two-thirds of the poor Americans eligible for them.
- Child care providers are paid less per hour than animal caretakers, bartenders, or parking lot and amusement park attendants.
- Hundreds of thousands of children and parents will become homeless this year alone. Hundreds of military buildings have been designated for use as shelters for the homeless, but the Department of Defense has spent virtually none of the funds approved by Congress for necessary conversions.
- One in three poor teenagers is officially counted as unemployed. Only one in three Hispanic youths and fewer than one in four black youths were employed in late 1986.
- The average monthly payment by the states for all the subsistence costs of a child on AFDC was \$117.70 in 1985—less than half the average new car monthly installment payment by Americans that year.
- Each year 1.1 million teenage girls get pregnant and nearly half a million give birth.
- The United States' infant mortality rates tied for the worst ranking among twenty industrialized nations during the 1980–1985 period. Thirty years earlier the United States ranked sixth best among the same countries.

CDF PUBLICATIONS

ADOLESCENT PREGNANCY PREVENTION CLEARINGHOUSE. CDF's Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention Clearinghouse publishes six reports a year in a subscription series on preventing children having children. Six issues (one year), \$17.95. Single issues, \$4. (Includes first-class postage.)

CLEARINGHOUSE REPORT NO. 1: PREVENTING CHILDREN HAVING CHILDREN explains why teen pregnancy is a problem, separates some common myths about adolescent pregnancy from fact, and explores ways of creating opportunities and hope for our children that will help them avoid too-early pregnancy. 16 pp., 1985. \$4 (includes first-class postage).

THE HEALTH OF AMERICA'S CHILDREN: MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH DATA BOOK is the most comprehensive examination available of the complex factors affecting infant health, with extensive data for the nation and the states on birth outcomes of teen births, infant mortality, low-birthweight births, prenatal care utilization, federal and state benefit programs, progress toward the Surgeon General's maternal and infant health goals for 1990, and more. 232 pp., 1987, \$9.95.

CDF REPORTS, the monthly newsletter for people who want to improve the lives of children, details national, state, and local activities in: adolescent pregnancy prevention, child care, education, mental health, foster care, adoption, child abuse, and child welfare. Twelve issues (one year), \$29.95.